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DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

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PROPHECIES,

Which have remarkably been fulfilled,
and at this time are fulfilling in
the world.

By *THOMAS NEWTON*, D.D.

Now Lord Bishop of BRISTOL.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME *the* SECOND.

THE THIRD EDITION.

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TO THE
G R E A T and G O O D,
Great in T I T L E S, but superior in V I R T U E S,

The most Reverend

T H O M A S

L O R D A R C H B I S H O P of C A N T E R B U R Y,

The most Noble

W I L L I A M

D U K E of D E V O N S H I R E,

The right Reverend

T H O M A S

L O R D B I S H O P of L O N D O N,

Trustees for the Lecture founded by the
Honorable Mr. B O Y L E,



These discourses

are

with all humility

and gratitude

inscribed:

Sept. 12. 1758.



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OF THE
SECOND VOLUME.

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the Honorable ROBERT BOYLE.

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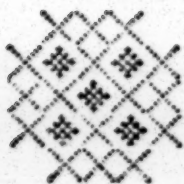
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DISSERTATIONS
ON THE
PROPHECIES,

Which have remarkably been fulfilled,
and at this time are fulfilling
in the world.

INTRODUCTION

to the LECTURE founded by the Honorable
ROBERT BOYLE,
January 5, 1756.

THERE is not a stronger or more convincing proof of divine revelation, than the *sure word of prophecy*. But to the truth of prophecy it is objected, that the predictions were written after the events; and could it be proved as well as asserted, it would really be an insuperable objection. It was thought therefore that a greater service

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could not be done to the cause of Christianity, than by an induction of particulars to show, that the predictions were prior to the events, nay that several prophecies have been fulfilled in these later ages, and are fulfilling even at this present time : And for the farther prosecution and the better encouragement of this work, I have been called to preach these lectures, by the favor and recommendation of *the great prelate*, who having himself written most excellently of *the use and intent of prophecy*, is also willing to reward and encourage any one who but endeavors well on the same subject. The ready and gracious concurrence of the (1) other trustees was an equal honor and favor, and is deserving of the most grateful acknowledgements. Engaging in this service may indeed have retarded the publication of these discourses longer than was intended ; but perhaps they may be the better for the delay, since there have

(1) The trustees appointed by Mr. Boyle himself were Sir John Rotheram, Serjeant at law, Sir Henry Ashurst of London, Knt. and Bart. Thomas Tenison D.D. afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and John Evelyn Esq;. Archbishop Tenison, the survivor of these, nominated and appointed for trustees Ri-

chard Earl of Burlington ; Dr. Edmund Gibson, then Archdeacon of Surry, afterwards Lord Bishop of London ; Dr. Charles Trimmel, then Bishop of Norwich, afterwards Bishop of Winchester ; Dr. White Kennet, then Dean, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough ; and Dr. Samuel Bradford, then Rector

have been more frequent occasions to review and reconsider them; and time corrects and improves works as well as generous wines, at least affords opportunities of correcting and improving them.

This work hath already been deduced to the prophecies of Daniel: and as some time and pains have been employed in explaining some parts of his prophecies, and more will be taken in explaining other parts; it may be proper, before we proceed, to consider the principal objections which have been made to the genuineness of the book of Daniel. It was before asserted, that the first who called in question the truth and authenticity of Daniel's prophecies, was the famous Porphyry, who maintained that they were written about the time of Antiochus Epiphanes: but he was amply refuted by (2) Jerome, and hath been and will be more amply refuted still in the course of these dissertations.

A

Rector of St. Mary Le Bow, afterwards Bishop of Rochester. The Earl of Burlington, being the only surviving trustee, appointed to succeed him in the said trust, William then Marquis of Hartington, now Duke of Devonshire, Dr. Thomas Sherlock Lord Bishop of London, Dr. Martin Benson Lord

Bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Thomas Secker Lord Bishop of Oxford, now Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Honorable Richard Arundell Esq; of whom Bishop Benson died before, and Mr. Arundell since the appointment of the present lecturer.

(2) Hieron. Comment. in Dan. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

B 2

(3) See

A modern infidel hath followed Porphyry's example, and in his *Scheme of literal prophecy* hath heaped together all that he could find or invent against the book of Daniel, and hath comprised the whole in eleven objections, in order to show that the book was written about the time of the Maccabees: but he likewise hath been refuted to the satisfaction of every intelligent and impartial reader; as indeed there never were any arguments urged in favor of infidelity, but better were always produced in support of truth. The substance of his (3) objections and of the answers to him may with truth and candor be represented in the following manner.

1. It is objected, that the famous Daniel, mentioned by Ezekiel, could not be the author of the book of Daniel; because Ezekiel, who prophesied in the *fifth year of Jehoiakim* king of Judah, implies Daniel at that time to be a person in years; whereas the book of Daniel speaks of Daniel at that time as a youth. But here the objector is either ignorantly or wilfully guilty of gross misrepresentation. For Ezekiel did not prophesy *in the fifth year of Jehoiakim*, nor in the reign of Jehoiakim at all; but he began

(3) See Collins's *Scheme of* Bishop Chandler's *Vindication*.
literal prophecy, p. 149—157. P. 4—157. Sam. Chandler's
 2 Vin.

began to prophesy in the *fifth year of king Jehoiachin's captivity*, the son and successor of Jehoiakim, (Ezek. I. 2.) that is eleven years after. When Daniel was first carried into captivity, he might be a youth (4) about eighteen: but when Ezekiel magnified his piety and wisdom, (Chap. XIV. and XXVIII.) he was between thirty and forty: and several years before that he had interpreted Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and was advanced (Dan. II. 48.) to be *ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and chief of the governors over all the wise men of Babylon*; and was therefore very fit and worthy to be celebrated by his fellow-captive Ezekiel.

2. His second objection is, that Daniel is represented in the book of Daniel as living chiefly at the courts of the kings of Babylon and Persia; and yet the names of the several kings of his time are all mistaken in the book of Daniel. It is also more suited to a fabulous writer than to a contemporary historian, to talk of *Nebuchadnezzar's dwelling with the beasts of the field, and eating grass like oxen &c.* and then returning again to the government of his kingdom. Here are two objections confounded in one. As to the

the mistake of the kings names, there are only four kings mentioned in the book of Daniel, Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Darius the Mede, and Cyrus. Of the first and the last there was never any doubt; and the other two may be rightly named, tho' they are named differently by the Greek historians, who yet differ as much one from another as from Daniel. It is well known that the eastern monarchs had several names; and one might be made use of by one writer, another by another. It is plainly begging the question, to presume without farther proof, that Daniel was not the oldest of these writers, and had not better opportunities of knowing the names than any of them. As to the case of Nebuchadnezzar, it is related indeed in the prophetic figurative stile. It is the interpretation of a dream, and stript of its figures the plain meaning is, that Nebuchadnezzar should be punished with madness, should fancy himself a beast and live like a beast, should be *made to eat grass as oxen*, be obliged to live upon a vegetable diet, but after some time should recover his reason, and resume the government. And what is there fabulous or absurd in this? The dream was not of Daniel's inditing, but was told by Nebuchadnezzar himself. The dream is in a poetic strain, and so likewise is
the

the interpretation, the better to show how the one corresponded with the other, and how the prophecy and event agreed together.

3. He objects that the book of Daniel could not be written by that Daniel who was carried captive in the Babylonish captivity, because it abounds with derivations from the Greek, which language was unknown to the Jews till long after the captivity. The assertion is false that the book of Daniel *abounds* with derivations from the Greek. There is an affinity only between some few words in the Greek and the Chaldee language: and why must they be derived the one from the other? or if derived, why should not the Greeks derive them from the Chaldee, rather than the Chaldees from the Greek? If the words in question could be shown to be of Greek extraction, yet there was some communication between the eastern kingdoms and the colonies of the Greeks settled in Asia Minor before Nebuchadnezzar's time; and so some particular terms might pass from the Greek into the oriental languages. But on the contrary the words in question are shown to be not of Greek but of eastern derivation; and consequently passed from the east to the Greeks, rather than from the Greeks to the east. Most of the words are names of musical

instruments ; and the Greeks (5) acknowledge that they received their music from the eastern nations, from whence they themselves originally descended.

4. It doth not appear, says the objector, that the book of Daniel was translated into Greek, when the other books of the Old Testament were, which are attributed to the Seventy ; the present Greek version, inserted in the Septuagint, being taken from Theodotion's translation of the Old Testament made in the second century of Christ. But it doth appear, that there was an ancient Greek version of Daniel, which is attributed to the Seventy, as well as the version of the other books of the Old Testament. It is cited by Clemens Romanus, Justin Martyr, and many of the ancient fathers. It was inserted in Origen, and filled a column of his Hexapla. It is quoted several times by Jerome ; and he saith (6) expressly, that the version of the Seventy was repudiated by the doctors of the church, and that of Theodotion substituted in the room of it, because it came nearer to the Hebrew verity.

5. It

(5) Καὶ τῷ Διόνυσῳ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὅλην καθιερωσάντες μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδίας, ἐκείθεν καὶ τὴν πολλὴν μουσικὴν μεταφέρουσι. Et cum Baccho totam Asiam ad Indiam usque consecraverint, magnam quoque musicæ partem inde transferunt.

Strabo, Lib. 10. p. 471. Edit. Paris. 1620. p. 722. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Vide etiam Athenæi Lib. 14. p. 625, &c.

(6) Danielelem prophetam juxta Septuaginta interpretes Domini

5. It is objected that divers matters of fact are spoken of with the clearness of history, to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, who is very particularly dwelt upon, and that with great and seeming fresh resentment for his barbarous usage of the Jews: And this clearness determined Porphyry, and would determin any one to think, that the book was written about the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, the author appearing to be well acquainted with things down to the death of Antiochus but not farther. But what an argument is this against the book of Daniel? His prophecies are clear, and therefore are no prophecies: as if an all-knowing God could not foretel things clearly; or as if there were not many predictions in other prophets, as clear as any in Daniel. If his prophecies extend not lower than the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, his commission might be limited there, and he would not go beyond his commission. But it hath been shown, and will be shown, that there are several prophecies in Daniel relating to times long after the death of Antiochus, and these prophecies

Domini Salvatoris ecclesiæ non legunt, utentes Theodotionis editione:—quod multum a veritate discordet, et recto judicio repudiatus sit. Hieron. Præf. in Dan. Vol. 1. p. 987. Judicio magis. strorum ecclesiæ editio eo-

rum [LXX] repudiata est, et Theodotionis vulgo legitur, quæ et Hebræo, et cæteris translatoribus congruit. &c. Comment. in Dan. IV. Col. 1088. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

(7) Josephi

prophecies are as clear as those before the death of Antiochus. Neither is Antiochus so very particularly dwelt upon as is commonly imagined; neither is he spoken of with greater resentment, than other prophets express towards the kings of Assyria and Babylon. All honest men, who love liberty and their country, must speak with indignation of tyrants and oppressors.

6. His sixth objection is, that Daniel is omitted among the prophets recited in Ecclesiasticus, where it seems proper to have mentioned him as a Jewish prophet-author, had the book under his name been received as canonical, when Ecclesiasticus was published. It might have been proper to have mentioned him, had the author been giving a complete catalogue of the Jewish canonical writers. But that is not the case. He mentions several who never pretended to be inspired writers, and omits others who really were so. No mention is made of Job and Ezra, and of the books under their names, as well as of Daniel: and who can account for the silence of authors in any particular at this distance of time? Daniel is proposed (1 Macc. II. 60.) as a pattern by the father of the Maccabees, and his wisdom is highly recommended by Ezekiel: and these are sufficient testimonies of his antiquity, without the confirmation of a later writer.

7. It

7. It is objected, that Jonathan, who made the Chaldee paraphrases on the prophets, has omitted Daniel: from whence it should seem, the book of Daniel was not of that account with the Jews, as the other books of the prophets were. But there are other books, which were always accounted canonical among the Jews, and yet have no Chaldee paraphrases extant, as the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Jonathan might perhaps not make a Targum or Chaldee paraphrase on Daniel, because half of the book is written in Chaldee. Or he might have made a Targum on Daniel, and that Targum may have been lost, as other ancient Targums have been destroyed by the injury of time; and there are good proofs in the Misna and other writers cited by Bishop Chandler, that there was an ancient Targum on Daniel. But tho' Jonathan made no Targum on Daniel, yet in his interpretation of other prophets, he frequently applies the prophecies of Daniel, as fuller and clearer in describing the same events; and consequently Daniel was in his esteem a prophet, and at least of equal authority with those before him. The ranking of Daniel among the Hagiographa, and not among the prophets, was done by the Jews since Christ's time for very obvious reasons. He was always esteemed a prophet by the ancient Jewish

Jewish church. Our Saviour calleth him *Daniel the prophet*: and Josephus (7) speaketh of him as one of the greatest of the prophets.

8. That part of Daniel, says the objector, which is written in Chaldee, is near the stile of the old Chaldee paraphrases; which being composed many hundred years after Daniel's time, must have a very different stile from that used in his time, as any one may judge from the nature of language, which is in a constant flux, and in every age deviating from what it was in the former: And therefore that part could not be written at a time very remote from the date of the eldest of those Chaldee paraphrases. But by the same argument Homer cannot be so ancient an author, as he is generally reputed, because the Greek language continued much the same many hundred years after his time. Nay the stile of Daniel's Chaldee differs more from that of the old Chaldee paraphrases, than Homer doth from the latest of the Greek classic writers: and when it was said by Prideaux and Kidder, whose authority the objector alleges, that the old Chaldee paraphrases came near to the Chaldee of Daniel, it was not said absolutely but comparatively, with respect to other paraphrases, which did not come near to Daniel's purity.

9. It

(7) Josephi Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 10, & 11.

(8) Τα

9. It is objected that the Jews were great composers of books under the names of their renowned prophets, to do themselves honor, and particularly under the name of Daniel: and the book of Daniel seems composed to do honor to the Jews, in the person of Daniel, in making a Jew superior to all the wise men of Babylon. If there is any force in this objection, it is this. There have been books counterfeited under the names of men of renown, therefore there can be no genuin books of the same men. Some pieces in Greek have been forged under the name of Daniel, and therefore he wrote no book in Chaldee and Hebrew long before those forgeries. In like manner some poems have been ascribed to Homer and Virgil, which were not of their composing; and therefore the one did not compose the Iliad, nor the other the Æneid. Some false writings have been attributed to St. Peter and St. Paul; and therefore there are no true writings of those apostles. Such arguments sufficiently expose and refute themselves. One would think the inference should rather lie on the other side. Some books have been counterfeited in the name of this or that writer; and therefore that there were some genuin books of his writing, is a much more probable presumption than the contrary.

10. The

10. The tenth objection is, that the author of the book of Daniel appears plainly to be a writer of things past, after a prophetical manner, by his uncommon punctuality, by not only foretelling things to come, like other prophets, but fixing the time when the things were to happen. But other prophets and other prophecies have prefixed the times for several events; as 120 years for the continuance of the antediluvian world; 400 years for the sojourning of Abraham's seed in a strange land; 40 years for the peregrination of the children of Israel; 65 years for Ephraim's continuing a people; 70 years for the desolation of Tyre; 70 years for Judah's captivity; and the like: and therefore the fixing of the times cannot be a particular objection against the prophecies of Daniel. Daniel may have done it in more instances than any other prophet: but why might not God, if he was so pleased, foretel the dates and periods of any events, as well as the events themselves? Josephus, whom the objector hath quoted upon this occasion, differs totally from him. He (8) ascribes this punctuality to divine revelation, not like

(8) Τα γὰρ βιβλία, ὅσα δὴ συγγραψάμενος καταλείπειν, ἀναγινώσκειται παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπὶ καὶ νῦν· καὶ πεπίστευκαμεν ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὅτι Δαυὶδ ὁ ὀμιλεῖ τῷ Θεῷ. ὃ γὰρ τα
 μελλόντα μόνον προφητεύων διέτελει, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προφητεύουσι, ἀλλὰ καὶ καίρου ᾠρίζεν, εἰς ὃν ταῦτα ἀποβήσεται. Libri enim quotquot a se conscriptos reliquit,

like the objector, to the late composition of the book. He infers from it that Daniel was one of the greatest prophets, not like the objector, that he was no prophet at all.

Lastly it is objected, that the book of Daniel sets forth facts very imperfectly, and often contrary to other historical relations, and the whole is written in a dark and emblematical stile, with images and symbols unlike the books of other prophets, and taken from the schools of the Greeks. As to Daniel's setting forth facts very imperfectly, he is perfect enough for his design, which was not to write a history but prophecies, and history only so far as it relates to his prophecies. As to his writing contrary to other historical relations, it is false. For most of the main facts related by him are confirmed even by heathen historians : but if he contradicted them, yet he would deserve more credit, as he was more ancient than any of them, and lived in the times whereof he wrote. As to his emblems being unlike the books of other prophets, and taken from the schools of the Greeks, this is also false. For the like emblems are often used
by

quit, leguntur hodieque apud nos : atque ii nobis fidem faciunt, Danielum cum Deo colloquia habuisse. Non enim futura solum, quemadmodum

et alii vates, prædicere solebat, sed et tempus, quo hæc evenitura erant, præfinivit. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 7. p. 465. Edit. Hudson.

(6) Lord

by other prophets, and are agreeable to the stile and genius of all the eastern writers of his time. They were so far from being taken from the schools of the Greeks, that on the contrary, if they were ever used by the Greeks, the Greeks borrowed them from the oriental writers. But after all how doth this last objection consist and agree with the fifth and tenth? There *divers matters of fact were spoken of with the clearness of history*, and the author was convicted of forgery by *his uncommon punctuality*. Here *all is dark and emblematical, imperfect and contrary to other histories*. Such objections contradict and destroy one another. Both may be false, both cannot be true.

These objections being removed, what is there wanting of external or internal evidence to prove the genuineness and authenticity of the book of Daniel? There is all the external evidence that can well be had or desired in a case of this nature; not only the testimony of the whole Jewish church and nation, who have constantly received this book as canonical; but of Josephus particularly, who commends him as the greatest of the prophets; of the Jewish Targums and Talmuds, which frequently cite and appeal to his authority; of St. Paul and St. John, who have copied many of his prophecies; of our Saviour himself, who citeth his words, and stileth him

Daniel

Daniel the prophet; of ancient historians, who relate many of the same transactions; of the mother of the seven sons and of the father of the Maccabees, who both recommend the example of Daniel to their sons; of old Eleazar in Egypt, who praying for the Jews then suffering under the persecution of Ptolemy Philopater, (3 Macc. VI. 6, 7.) mentions the deliverance of Daniel out of the den of lions, together with the deliverance of the three men out of the fiery furnace; of the Jewish high-priest, who showed Daniel's prophecies to Alexander the great, while he was at Jerusalem; and still higher, of Ezekiel, a contemporary writer, who greatly extols his *piety* and *wisdom*. Nor is the internal less powerful and convincing than the external evidence; for the language, the stile, the manner of writing, and all other internal marks and characters are perfectly agreeable to that age; and he appears plainly and undeniably to have been a prophet by the exact accomplishment of his prophecies, as well those which have already been fulfilled, as those which are now fulfilling in the world.

The genuineness and authenticity of the book of Daniel being therefore established beyond all reasonable contradiction, we may now proceed in our main design: and the

vision of the ram and he-goat, and the prophecy of the things noted in the scripture of truth, and the transactions of the kings of the north and the south, will find sufficient matter for our meditations this year. Another year will be fully employed on our Saviour's prophecies of the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews, together with St. Paul's prophecies of the Man of Sin, and of the Apostacy of the latter times. The last and most difficult task of all will be an analysis or explication of the Apocalyps or Revelation of St. John. It is a hazardous attempt, in our little bark, to venture on that dangerous ocean, where so many stouter vessels and abler pilots have been shipwrecked and lost: but possibly we may be the better able to sail through it, coming prepared, careened and sheathed as I may say for such a voyage, by the assistance of the former prophets, having particularly Daniel and St. Paul as our pole-star and compass, and begging withall of God's holy Spirit to steer and direct our course. The conclusion will consist of reflections and inferences from the whole. In this manner, with the divine assistance, shall be employed the three years, which is the period usually allotted to these exercises; and it is hoped that the design of the honorable founder will in some

measure be answered by proving the truth of revelation from the truth of prophecy. It was indeed a noble design after a life spent in the study of philosophy, and equally devoted to the service of religion, to benefit posterity not only by his own useful and numerous writings, theological as well as philosophical, but also by engaging the thoughts and pens of others in defense of natural and revealed religion; and some of the best treatises on these subjects in the English language, or indeed in any language, are owing to his institution. This is continuing to do good even after death; and what was said of Abel's faith, may also be said of his, that *by it he being dead, yet speaketh.*

From the instance of this excellent person, and some others who might be mentioned, it appears that there is nothing inconsistent in science and religion, but a great philosopher may be a good Christian. True philosophy is indeed the handmaid to true religion: and the knowledge of the works of nature will lead one to the knowledge of the God of nature, *the invisible things of him being clearly seen by the things which are made; even his eternal power and godhead.* They are only minute philosophers, who are sceptics and unbelievers. Smatterers in science, they are but smatterers in religion. Whereas

the most eminent philosophers, those who have done honor to the nation, done honor to human nature itself, have also been believers and defenders of revelation, have studied scripture as well as nature, have followed God in his word as well as in his works, and have even made comments on several parts of holy writ. So just and true is the observation of the (9) Lord Bacon, one of the illustrious persons here intended; “ A little philosophy inclines man’s mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth mens minds about to religion.”

(9) Lord Bacon’s Essays, XVII.





DISSERTATIONS ON THE PROPHECIES.

XV.

DANIEL'S vision of the RAM and HE - GOAT.

HITHERTO the prophecies of Daniel, that is from the fourth verse of the second chapter to the eighth chapter, are written in Chaldee. As they greatly concerned the Chaldæans, so they were published in that language. But the remaining prophecies are written in Hebrew, because they treat altogether of affairs subsequent to the times of the Chaldæans, and no ways relate to them, but principally to the church and people of God. Which is a plain proof, that the scriptures were originally written in such a manner as they might

be best understood by the people: and consequently it is defeating the very end and design of writing them, to *take away the key of knowlege*, and to keep them locked up in an unknown tongue. We may observe too that in the former part of the book of Daniel he is generally spoken of in the third person, but in the latter part he speaketh of himself in the first person, which is some kind of proof that the book was written, if not by different persons, yet at different times.

Daniel's former vision of the four great beasts, representing the four great empires of the world, was (VII. 1.) *in the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon.* He had another vision in the *third* year of the reign of the same king Belshazzar, that is (1) about 553 years before Christ. (VIII. 1.) *In the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar, a vision appeared unto me, even unto me Daniel, after that which appeared unto me at the first.*

It

(1) See Usher, Prideaux, and other chronologers.

(2) Observemus etiam aliis apparuisse visiones hujusmodi, quæ futura portenderent. Ita, Plutarcho teste in vita Syllæ, *In Campania, circa Tiphaton montem* (qui aliis Tifata) *interdium sunt conflagrare magni hirci duo, et ea omnia facere et pati, quæ viri in pugna solent.* Spectrum autem, e terra sensim elat-

tum, paulo post dissipatum, et ex oculis elapsum, est. Nec multo post Sylla, Mario Juniore et Norbano consule, in eo ipso loco fufis, et profligatis, et cæsis hominum septem millibus, consulem inclusit Capuæ. Et in Accii Bruto, qui a Cicerone citatur libro primo De Divinatione, Tarquinius superbus sum hoc somnium narrat.

Vifum

It was exhibited to him (ver. 2.) at the palace in Shushan, and by the side of the river *Ulai*, or *Euleus*, as it is called by the Greeks and Romans. *And I saw in a vision, (and it came to pass when I saw, that I was at Shushan in the palace, which is in the province of Elam) and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river Ulai.* So likewise the prophet Ezekiel saw visions by the river Chebar; as if the holy Spirit had delighted to manifest himself in such retired scenes: and the gifts and graces of the Spirit are often in scripture-language described by the metaphors of springs and streams of water, than which nothing was more agreeable and refreshing in hot and dry countries.

Such was the time and place of the vision. The vision itself was of a ram and he-goat. And we may observe with the learned (2) Bochart, that others also have had like visions, portending future events. So Plutarch reports in

Visum est in somnis pastorem ad me appellere
Pecus lanigerum eximia pulchritudine,
Duos consanguineos arietes inde eligi,
Præclarioremque alterum immolare me:
Deinde ejus germanum cornibus connitier
In me arietare, eoque me ad casum dari:
Exin prostratum terra graviter faucium,
Resupinum, in cælo contueri maximum, &c.

Hi arietes consanguinei L. Junium Brutum, et fratrem ejus a Tarquinio casum significabant; quorum ille, in Tarquinium insurgens, eum regno suo spoliavit. Bocharti Hierozoic. Pars Prior. Lib. 2. Cap. 46. Col. 527.

in the life of Sylla, that two great goats were seen fighting in Campania, and suddenly the vision vanished: nor long afterwards in that very place Sylla having routed and slain seven thousand men besieged the consul in Capua. In the Brutus of Accius, which is cited by Cicero in his first book of divination, Tarquinius Superbus relates his dream, "that a shepherd drove his flock to him; two rams of the same breed were selected from thence, both choice and beautiful, and he killed the finer of them; the other rushed upon him with his horns, and cast him down and wounded him." These rams of the same breed signified Lucius Junius Brutus and his brother; one of whom was slain by Tarquin, and the other rose against Tarquin, and despoiled him of his kingdom. So that the probabilities of the poets and historians bear some resemblance to the realities of holy writ. Or rather, in this instance of prophecy, as in the ceremonials of religion and the modes of government, God was pleased to condescend and conform to the customs and manners of the age, to make thereby a stronger impression on the minds of the people. Nor is such a condescension unworthy

(3) *Quam melius itaque ex linguis orientis potuisset hujus rei fons erui? quibus, ut id est jam contritum, eadem voce cornu, corona, potentia, ac splendor nuncupantur. Unde cornu, regium insigne apud Phœnices, et Hebræorum קרן seu cornu, Chaldæis*

worthy of the deity, nor unsuitable to the other methods of his providence, but is rather an argument of his infinite goodness.

In the former vision there appeared four beasts, because there four empires were represented: but here are only two, because here we have a representation of what was transacted chiefly within two empires. The first of the four empires, that is the Babylonian, is wholly omitted here, for its fate was sufficiently known, and it was now drawing very near to a conclusion. The second empire in the former vision, is the first in this; and what was there compared to a bear, is here prefigured by a ram. *Then I lifted up mine eyes, saith Daniel, (ver. 3.) and saw, and behold, there stood before the river, a ram which had two horns, and the two horns were high; but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last.* This ram with two horns, according to the explication of the angel Gabriel, was the empire of the Medes and Persians; (ver. 20.) *The ram which thou sawest having two horns, are the kings or kingdoms of Media and Persia.* The source of this figure of horns for kingdoms, as a (3) learned writer observes, must be derived from the oriental languages, in which the same word signifies a horn,

and

dæis interpretibus aliquoties מלכותא seu regnum redditur, ut vidit illustris Grotius; et cornua pro regno & regibus passim in

veteri sædere. Spanheim de Usu Numismatum. Vol. 1. Dissert. 7. p. 400.

(4) Xeno-

and a *crown*, and *power*, and *splendor*. Whence a *horn* was an ensign of royalty among the Phœnicians, and the Hebrew word קֶרֶן *keren* or a *horn*, is several times by the Chaldee paraphrasts render'd מַלְכוּתָא *malchutha* or a *kingdom*; and *horns* are frequently used for *kings* and *kingdoms* in the Old Testament. This empire therefore, which was formed by the conjunction of the Medes and Persians, and is often called the Medo-Persian, was not unfitly represented by a ram *with two horns*. Cyrus, the founder of this empire, was (4) son of Cambyfes king of Persia, and by his mother Mandane was grandson of Astyages king of Media; and afterwards marrying the daughter and only child of his uncle Cyaxares king of Media, he succeeded to both crowns, and united the kingdoms of Media and Persia. It was a coalition of two very formidable powers, and therefore it is said that *the two horns were high: but one, it is added, was higher than the other, and the higher came up last*. The kingdom of Media was the more ancient of the two, and more famous in history; Persia was
of

(4) Xenophon. Cyropæd. p. 188. Edit. Gale.
Lib. 1. & 8.

(5) Herod. Lib. 1. Sect. 130.
p. 56. Edit. Gale. Strabo. Lib.
15. p. 730. Edit. Paris 1620.
p. 1062. Edit. Amstel. 1707.
Justin. Lib. 1. Cap. 6.

(6) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 65.

(7) —quis suspicari possit,
etiam arietis de rege Persarum
in eadem visione typum, ad
nominis *Elam* (quod alterum
duorum est quo ea gens appel-
letur) significatum alludere. לֵאמֹר
enim Hebræis (unde nomen לֵאמֹר
aries

of little note or account till the time of Cyrus : but under Cyrus the Persians gained and maintained the ascendent ; some (5) authors say that Cyrus subdued the king of the Medes by force of arms ; and his son (6) Cambyfes upon his death-bed earnestly exhorted the Persians not to suffer the kingdom to return again to the Medes. But a question still remains, why that empire, which was before likened to a *bear* for its cruelty, should now be represented by a *ram* ? Mr. Mede's conjecture is ingenious and plausible enough, (7) that the Hebrew word for a *ram*, and the Hebrew word for *Persia*, both springing from the same root, and both implying something of strength, the one is not improperly made the type of the other. The propriety of it appears farther from hence, as is suggested likewise by another writer in the general preface to Mr. Mede's works, that it was usual for the king of Persia to wear a ram's head made of gold, and adorned with precious stones, instead of a diadem ; for so (8) Ammianus Marcellinus describes him. Bishop Chandler and others

aries) et אֶלֶם atque אֶלֶם
Chaldæis, idem significant,
nempe *fortem* seu *robustum esse*.
Forte igitur אֶלֶם *Elam* istis,
ut illis אֶלֶם *arietem* sonabat,
indèque rex *Elam* hoc typo
Danieli figuratur. Mede's
Works. B. 3. Comment. Apoc.

p. 474.

(8) —aureum capitis arietini
figmentum interstinctum lapil-
lis pro diademate gestans. Amm.
Marcell. Lib. 19. Cap. 1.
p. 208. Edit. Valesii. Paris
1681.

(9) Bishop

others farther (9) observe, that “rams heads
“with horns, one higher and the other
“lower, are still to be seen on the pillars at
“Persepolis.”

The great exploits of the ram are recapitulated in the next verse. (ver. 4.) *I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward, so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand, but he did according to his will, and became great.* Under Cyrus himself, the Persians pushed their conquests *westward* (1) as far as the Ægean sea and the bounds of Asia: *northward* they subdued (2) the Armenians, Cappadocians, and various other nations: *southward* they conquered Egypt, if not under Cyrus as (3) Xenophon affirms, yet most certainly under (4) Cambyfes, the son and successor of Cyrus. Under Darius they subdued (5) India, but in the prophecy no mention is made of their conquests in the *east*, because those countries lay very remote from the Jews, and were of little concern or consequence to them. The ram was strong and powerful, *so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any*

(9) Bishop Chandler's Vindication, Chap. 1. Sect. 4. p. 154. Aries item bicornis inter rudera Persæpoleos. Wet-

stein in Rev. XIII. 11.

(1) Herod. Lib. 1. Xenoph. Cyropæd. Lib. 7.

(2) Xe-

any that could deliver out of his hands; that is none of the neighbouring kingdoms were able to contend with the Persians, but all fell under their dominion. He did according to his will, and became great: and the Persian empire was increased and enlarged to such a degree, that it extended (Esther I. 1.) from India even unto Ethiopia, over an hundred and seven and twenty provinces; so that seven provinces were added to the hundred and twenty (Dan. VI. 1.) which it contained in the time of Cyrus.

After the ram the he-goat appears next upon the scene. *And as I was considering, saith Daniel, (ver. 5.) behold, an he-goat came from the west on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground: and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes.* Which is thus interpreted by the angel Gabriel, (ver. 21.) *The rough goat is the king of Grecia, and the great horn that is between his eyes, is the first king, or kingdom. A goat is very properly made the type of the Grecian or Macedonian empire, because the Macedonians at first, about two hundred years before Daniel, were denominated Ægeadæ or the*
goat's

(2) Xenoph. *ibid.* Lib. 3.
& 7.

(4) Herod. Lib. 3.

(3) Xenoph. *ibid.* Lib. 1.
& 8.

(5) Herod. Lib. 4. Cap. 44.
p. 239. Edit. Gale.

(6) Nec

goat's people; and upon this occasion, as heathen authors report. Caranus, their first king, going with a great multitude of Greeks to seek new habitations in Macedonia, was commanded by the oracle to take the goats for his guides to empire: and afterwards seeing a herd of goats flying from a violent storm, he followed them to Edessa, and there fixed the seat of his empire, made the goats his ensigns or standards, and called the city *Ægeæ* or *the goat's town*, and the people *Ægeadæ* or *the goat's people*. This observation is likewise owing to the most excellent (6) Mr. Mede: and to this may be added that the city *Ægeæ* or *Ægæ* was the (7) usual burying-place of the Macedonian kings. It is also very remarkable, that Alexander's son by Roxana was named Alexander *Ægus*, or *the son of the goat*; and (8) some of Alexander's successors are represented in their coins with *goat's horns*.

This

(6) Nec deesse videtur hujusmodi allusionis exemplum apud Danielelem, cap. 8. ubi Macedones, qui tunc temporis *Ægeades* (hoc est, *Caprini*) dicebantur, typo *caprarum*, rexque hirci figura designatur. *Eccc*, inquit, *hircus caprarum* (id est, *caprarum maritus*) *venit ab occidente*, &c. Innuit autem Alexandrum magnum, *Ægeadum* regem. Illi Macedones sunt. Ita enim gens ista vocabatur quæ

prima regni sedes erat, a Carano conditore, ducentis plus minus ante Danielelem annis. Occasionem nominis ex Trogo refert epitomator Justinus Lib. 7. cujus verba ascribere non gravabor. "Caranus, inquit, cum magna multitudine Græcorum, " sedes in Macedonia responso " oraculi jussus quærere, cum in " Æmathiam venisset, urbem " Edessam non sentientibus opipidanis propter imbrium et " nebulæ

This he-goat *came from the west*: and who is ignorant that Europe lieth westward of Asia? He came *on the face of the whole earth*, carrying every thing before him in all the three parts of the world then known: *and he touched not the ground*, his marches were so swift, and his conquests so rapid, that he might be said in a manner to fly over the ground without touching it. For the same reason the same empire in the former vision was likened to *a leopard*, which is a swift nimble animal, and to denote the greater quickness and impetuosity, to *a leopard with four wings*. *And the goat had a notable horn between his eyes*; this horn, saith the angel, *is the first king*, or kingdom of the Greeks in Asia, which was erected by Alexander the great, and continued for some years in his brother Philip Aridæus, and his two young sons Alexander Ægeus and Hercules. Dean Prideaux, speaking of the swift-

ness

“ nebulæ magnitudinem, gre-
 “ gem caprarum imbrem fu-
 “ gientium secutus, occupavit:
 “ revocatusque in memoriam
 “ oraculi, quo jussus erat du-
 “ cib; capris imperium quæ-
 “ rere, regni sedem statuit;
 “ religiosèque postea observa-
 “ vit, quocunque agmen mo-
 “ veret, ante signa easdem ca-
 “ pras habere, captorum duces
 “ habiturus quas regni habuerat

“ authores. Urbem Edeßam ob
 “ memoriam muneris *Ægeas*,
 “ populum *Ægeadas* vocavit.”
 Vide cætera. Mede’s Works.
 B. 3. Comment. Apoc. p. 473,
 474.

(7) Plin. Lib. 4. Cap. 10.
 Sect. 17. p. 200. Edit. Harduin.
 Vide etiam notas Harduini.

(8) Spanheim de Usu Numif-
 matum. Vol. 1. Dissert. 7. p.
 389, & 399.

(9) Pri-

ness of Alexander's marches, hath a (2) passage, which is very pertinent to our present purpose. " He flew with victory swifter than others can " travel, often with his horse pursuing his ene- " mies upon the spur whole days and nights, " and sometimes making long marches for seve- " ral days one after the other, as once he did " in pursuit of Darius of near forty miles a day " for eleven days together. So that by the " speed of his marches he came upon his enemy " before they were aware of him, and con- " quered them before they could be in a posture " to resist him. Which exactly agreeth with " the description given of him in the prophecies " of Daniel some ages before, he being in them " set forth under the similitude of a panther or " leopard with four wings: for he was impetu- " ous and fierce in his warlike expeditions, as a " panther after his prey, and came on upon his " enemies with that speed, as if he flew with a " double pair of wings. And to this purpose " he is in another place of those prophecies com- " pared to an he-goat coming from the west " with that swiftness upon the king of Media " and Persia, that he seemed as if his feet did " not

(8) Prideaux Connect. Part 1.
Book 8. Ann. 330. Alexan-
der 2.

(1) Herod. Lib. 6 & 7.
(2) Arrian. de Exped. Alex.
Lib. 1. Cap. 14. &c. Sic Gra-
nicum,

“ not touch the ground. And his actions, as
 “ well in this comparison as in the former, fully
 “ verified the prophecy.”

In the two next verses we have an account of the Grecians overthrowing the Persian empire. (ver. 6, 7.) *And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him; and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand.* The ram had before pushed westward, and the Persians in the (1) reigns of Darius Hytaspis and Xerxes had poured down with great armies into Greece: but now the Grecians in return carried their arms into Asia, and the he-goat invaded the ram that had invaded him. *And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power.* One can hardly read these words without having some image of Darius's army standing and guarding the river (2) Granicus, and of Alexander on the other

nicum, tot millibusequitum ped- ripa, superavit. Quint. Curt.
 ditumque in ulteriore stantibus Lib. 4. Cap. 9.

other side with his forces plunging in, swimming across the stream, and rushing on the enemy with all the fire and fury that can be imagin'd. It was certainly a strange rash mad attempt with only about thirty-five thousand men to attack, at such disadvantage, an army of more than five times the number : but he was successful in it, and this success diffused a terror of his name, and opened his way to the conquest of Asia. *And I saw him come close unto the ram :* he had several close engagements or set battles with the king of Persia, and particularly at the river Granicus in Phrygia, at the straits of Issus in Cilicia, and in the plains of Arbela in Assyria. *And he was moved with choler against him,* for (3) the cruelties which the Persians had exercised toward the Grecians ; and for (4) Darius's attempting to corrupt sometimes his soldiers to betray him, and sometimes his friends to destroy him ; so that he would not listen to the most advantageous offers of peace, but determined to pursue the Persian king, not as a generous and noble enemy, but as a poisoner and a murderer,

to

(3) Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. p. 599. Edit. Steph. p. 543. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Quint. Curt. Lib. 5. Cap. 6.

(4) Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 11. Verumenimvero, quum modo milites meos litteris

ad prodicionem, modo amicos ad perniciem meam pecunia sollicitet; ad internecionem mihi persequendus est, non ut justus hostis, sed ut percussor veneficus.

(5) Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. ibid. Quint. Curt. Lib. 5. Cap. 6 & 7.

(6) Quint.

to the death that he deserved. *And he smote the ram, and brake his two horns:* he subdued Persia and Media with the other provinces and kingdoms of the Persian empire; and it is memorable, that in (5) Persia he barbarously sacked and burned the royal city of Persepolis, the capital of the empire; and in (6) Media Darius was seized and made a prisoner by some of his own traitor-subjects, who not long afterwards basely murdered him. *And there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him;* he conquered wherever he came, routed all the forces, took all the cities and castles, and entirely subverted and ruined the Persian empire. *And there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand;* not even his numerous armies could defend the king of Persia, though his forces (7) in the battle of Issus amounted to six hundred thousand men, and (8) in that of Arbela to ten or eleven hundred thousand, whereas the (9) whole number of Alexander's was not more than forty-seven thousand in either engagement. So true is

(6) Quint. Curt. Lib. 5. ibid. Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. p. 590. Cap. 8, &c. Edit. Steph. p. 530. Tom. 2.

(7) Arrian de Exped. Alex. Edit. Rhod. Arrian. Lib. 3. Lib. 2. Cap. 8. p. 73. Edit. Cap. 8. p. 115.

Gronov. Plutarch in Alex. p. 674. Edit. Paris 1624. (9) Polyb. Lib. 12. Arrian. Lib. 3. Cap. 12. p. 122. Edit.

(8) Plutarch. in Alex. p. 682. Gronov.

is the observation of the Psalmist, (XXXIII. 16.) *there is no king saved by the multitude of an host :* and especially when God hath decreed the fall of empires, then even the greatest must fall. The fortune of Alexander, of which so much hath been said ; (1) Plutarch hath written a whole treatise about it ; the fortune of Alexander, I say, was nothing but the providence of God.

When Alexander was at Jerusalem, these prophecies were shown to him by the high-priest, according to the (2) relation of Josephus. For while Alexander lay at the siege of Tyre, he sent to Jaddua the high-priest at Jerusalem to demand provisions for his army, and the tribute that was annually paid to Darius. But the high-priest refused to comply with these demands by reason of his oath of allegiance to the king of Persia. Alexander therefore in great rage vowed to revenge himself upon the Jews : and as soon as he had taken Tyre and Gaza, he marched against Jerusalem. The high-priest in this imminent danger had recourse to God by sacrifices and supplications : and as he was directed in a vision of the night, he went forth the next day in his pontifical robes, with all the priests in their proper habits, and the people in white apparel,

(1) Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης.

(2) Josephi

apparel, to meet the conqueror, and to make their submissions to him. As soon as the king saw the high-priest coming to him in this solemn procession, he advanced eagerly to meet him, and bowing down himself before him, received him with religious awe and veneration. All present were astonished at this behaviour of the king, so contrary to their expectation; and Parmenio in particular demanded the reason of it, why he whom all others adored, should pay such adoration to the Jewish high-priest. Alexander replied, that he payed not this adoration to him, but to that God whose priest he was: for while he was at Dio in Macedonia, and was meditating upon his expedition against the king of Persia, there appeared unto him in a dream this very man, and in this very habit, inviting him to come over into Asia, and promising him success in the conquest of it: and now he was assured that he had set out upon this expedition under the conduct of God, to whom therefore he payed this adoration in the person of his high-priest. Hereupon he entered Jerusalem in peace, and went up and offered sacrifices to God in the temple, where the high-priest produced and laid before him the prophecies of Daniel,

(2) Josephi Antiqu. Lib. 11. Cap. 8.

niel, wherein it was written that a king of Grecia should overthrow the Persian empire, which he interpreted of himself. After this he granted peculiar privileges to the Jews, and proceeded in his expedition with full confidence and assurance of success.

Some persons have rejected this account as fabulous, particularly (3) Van Dale, Mr. Moyle, and Collins, who says that it is "an entire fiction unsupported, and inconsistent with history and chronology, and romantic in its circumstances." But (4) Bishop Lloyd, Dean Prideaux, Bishop Chandler and others have sufficiently vindicated the truth of the story. Even Bayle himself, who was never thought to be over-credulous, admits the fact: and it must be said, though some things are extraordinary, yet there is nothing incredible in the whole relation. Alexander lay seven months at the siege of Tyre; in that time he might well want provisions for his army: and it is no wonder that he should send for some into Judea, when the Tyrians them-

(3) Van Dale Differt. super Aristeam, Cap. 10. Moyle's Letters to Prideaux, p. 26, &c. Vol. 2. Collins' Scheme of literal Prophecy, p. 452.

(4) Bishop Lloyd's Letter to Dr. Sherlock. Prideaux Connect. and answers to Mr. Moyle. Bishop Chandler's Vindication of his Defense, Chap. 2. Sect. 1.

p. 176, &c. Mr. Sam. Chandler's Vindication of Daniel, p. 76, &c. Bayle's Dict. Art. MACEDO, Not. O.

(5) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 1. p. 507. Edit. Hudson.

(6) Joseph. ibid. et Contra Apion. Lib. 2. Sect. 4. p. 1365. Edit. Hudson.

(7) Arrian.

themselves used to be supplied from thence. (1 Kings V. 9, 11. Ezek. XXVII. 17. Acts XII 20.) The fidelity of the Jews to Darius, and their regard to their oath was nothing more than they practised upon other occasions; for the same reason (5) they would not submit to Ptolemy, having taken an oath to another governor: and Ptolemy afterwards rewarded them for it in Egypt, and (6) committed the most important garrisons and places of trust to their keeping, thinking that he might safely rely upon them, who had proved themselves so steady and faithful to their former princes and governors, and particularly to Darius king of Persia. That Alexander was in Judea, I think we may collect from other authors. Arrian says, (7) that he subdued all that part of Syria which was called Palestine. Pliny affirms, (8) that the balsam-tree, which grew only in Judea, was cut and bled a certain quantity in a day, while Alexander was waging war in those parts. Justin informs us, (9) that he went into Syria, where many

steady

princes

(7) Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Cap. 25. p. 101. Edit. Gronov. *Και ην αυτω τα μιν αλλα της Παλαιστνης καλυμεινης Συριας προσκεχωρηκοτα ηδη. Et cætera quidem Syriæ, quæ Palæstina vocatur, oppida in suam potestatem adduxerat.*

Cap. 25. Sect. 54. Edit. Har- duin. *Alexandromagno res ibi gerente, toto die æstivo unam concham impleri justum erat.*

(9) Tunc in Syriam proficiscitur, ubi obvius cum infulis multos orientis reges habuit. Justin. Hist. Lib. 11. Cap. 10. Sect. 6. Edit. Grævii.

(8) Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 12.

princes of the east met him with their mitres; upon which passage the note of Isaac Vossius is very just and pertinent, (1) "I think that Justin had respect to that memorable history, which Josephus relates of Jaddua the high-priest of the Jews." If Alexander therefore came into Judea, as he certainly did, it was prudent in the Jews, tho' they refused to succur him at a distance, yet to submit to him upon his nearer approach; it was in vain to withstand the conqueror, and the terror of his name was now become very great by his victories, and especially after the dreadful execution that he had made at Tyre and at Gaza. While Alexander was at Jerusalem, it was natural enough for the high-priest to show him the prophecies of a king of Grecia overcoming the king of Persia. Nothing could be devised more likely to engage his attention, to confirm his hopes, and to conciliate his favor to the whole nation. And for his sacrificing in the temple, it is no more than (2) other heathen princes have done, it is no more than he did in other places. He might perhaps consider God as a local deity, and offer sacrifices to him at Jerusalem, as he did to Hercules at Tyre, and

to

(1) Puto respicere Justinum ad memorabilem illam historiam, quam Josephus de Jaddo, summo Judæorum sacerdote, narrat.

(2) Joseph. contra Apion. Lib. 2. Sect. 5. p. 1365. Edit. Hudson. 2 Maccab. XIII. 23.

(3) Dio.

to Jupiter Hammon in Egypt, and to Belus in Bablylon.

What are then the great objections to the credibility of this story? It is pretended, that it is inconsistent with chronology; for Josephus places this event after the sieges of Tyre and of Gaza, whereas (3) all historians agree that Alexander went directly from Gaza to Egypt in seven days. But the best historians do not always relate facts in exact order of time, as they happened; they connect things of a sort together, and often mention later occurrences first, reserving what they think more important for the last place: and such possibly might be the intention of Josephus. Eusebius affirms, that (4) Alexander went after the siege of Tyre immediately to Jerusalem; and he might have good authority for affirming so, living as he did in Palestine; and with him agree Usher, Prideaux, and the best chronologers. And indeed it is most probable, that Alexander's progress was from Tyre to Jerusalem, and from Jerusalem to Gaza; because his resentment of the affront that he had received was then fresher in his mind, and Jerusalem lay not much out of the

(3) Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. Q. Curtius, Lib. 4. Arrian, Lib. 3. Plutarch in Alex. Annals, p. 214, 215. Prid. Connect. Part 1. B. 7. Anno 332. Darius 4.

(4) Eusebii Chron. Usher's

(5) Arrian

the way from Tyre to Gaza, and it was not likely that he should leave a place of such strength and importance untaken behind him. But if Josephus was mistaken about two months in point of time, yet such a mistake is not sufficient to shake the credit of his whole relation. What historian is there almost who hath not fallen into a mistake of the like kind? And yet after all Josephus might not be mistaken, for Alexander might march against Jerusalem from Gaza, either during the siege, or after it. Arrian informs us, (5) that while the siege of Tyre was carrying on, and the machines and ships were building, Alexander with some troops of horse and other forces went into Arabia, and having reduced that part of the country to his obedience partly by force, and partly by treaty, he returned to the camp in eleven days: and why might he not make such an excursion from Gaza for a few days, during the two months that his army was besieging it? or after he had taken the city, why might he not with part of the army go to Jerusalem, and leave the other part to rest themselves at Gaza? Jerusalem lay at no very great distance from Gaza, and a person of Alexander's expedition might go and
return

(5) Arrian de Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Cap. 20. p. 94. Edit. Gronov.

return within a very few days. The historians say indeed, that he came into Egypt in seven days after he departed from Gaza; but none of them say how long he stayed at Gaza, to refresh his army after the siege. We know from (6) Diodorus, that he stayed long enough to settle the affairs of the country about Gaza; and why might he not in that time make this visit to Jerusalem?

Another objection is taken from the silence of authors, who would hardly have passed over so memorable a transaction, if there had been any truth in it: but it is not so much as mentioned by any of the heathen historians; it is supported entirely by the testimony of Josephus. But if we reject all relations, which rest upon the credit of a single historian, ancient history will be shrunk into a very narrow compass. There were numerous writers of the life and actions of Alexander, who were his companions in the wars, or lived in or near his time, as Ptolemy, Aristobulus, and others: but none of their writings have been transmitted down to us; they have all been swallowed up in the gulph between that time and this: and who can be certain that some of them did not record this
trans-

(6) Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. p. 588. Edit. Steph. p. 526. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod.

(7) Josephus,

transaction ? It must have been mentioned by some ancient historian ; for we see that Justin in a short abridgment of history is thought to have alluded to it ; and some other author might have related it at large in all its circumstances. The most copious writers now extant of Alexander's affairs, are Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius, Arrian, and Plutarch : but the eldest of these lived some centuries after Alexander, so that they must have transcribed from former historians : and they have transcribed variously, as suited their particular purpose ; what one hath inserted, another hath omitted ; and not two of them hath related things exactly alike. There are actions and sayings of Alexander, which are omitted by them all, but yet are preserved by other authors : and no wonder then, that with the common prejudice of Greeks and Romans, they should omit some particulars of so remote and so disagreeable a people as the Jews. The affairs of each province are best related by the writers of each province. A Jew was most likely to record the particulars concerning the Jews. And Josephus, though he may have been thought credulous in some respects, yet was
never

(7) Josephus, fidissimus, diligentissimus, et eruditissimus scriptor. Scal. in notis ad Fragmenta Græc. p. 45. De Josepho nos hoc audacter dicimus, non solum in rebus Judaicis, sed

never charged with forging of history. His credit as an historian, will upon examination be found equal almost to the very best. Joseph Scaliger, who was an exceeding good judge in matters of this nature, (7) giveth him the character of a most faithful, a most diligent, and a most learned writer; of whom, saith he, we may boldly affirm, that not only in Jewish, but likewise in foreign affairs, we may more safely rely on his credit, than on all the Greek and Latin historians together.

There remains then no difficulty that can really stick with us, unless it be the particular interposition of God in this affair, and the prophetic dreams of Alexander and the high-priest. These things, it must be confessed, are wonderful: but if we recollect the miraculous interpositions of God in favor of his people; if we reflect what a particular providence attended Alexander, and conducted him to conquest and empire; if we consider the clear and express prophecies concerning him; these things tho' wonderful, may yet easily be reconciled to our belief, and will appear perfectly consistent with
the

fed etiam in externis tutius illi Latinis: In Prolegom. de E-
credi, quam omnibus Græcis & mendatione Temporum, p. 17.

(8) Joseph.

the other dispensations of divine providence. Admitting the truth of the prophecies, we cannot think these extraordinary circumstances at all incredible. These extraordinary circumstances are alleged to confirm the prophecies; and if the prophecies be found mutually to confirm these extraordinary circumstances, this is so far from weakening that it strengthens the argument. Indeed without the supposition of the truth of these circumstances, it will be extremely difficult to account for Alexander's granting so many privileges and favors to the Jews. He (8) allowed them the free exercise of their religion; he exempted their land from tribute every seventh, or the sabbatical year; he settled many of them at Alexandria with privileges and immunities equal to those of the Macedonians themselves; and when the Samaritans had revolted, and murdered the governor whom he had set over them, he assigned their country to the Jews, and exempted it in the same manner as Judea from tribute, as (9) Josephus hath proved from Alexander's own letters, and from the testimony of Hecataeus, a heathen historian. But what were the merits and services of the Jews, that they should be so favored and distinguished

(8) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 11. Hudson.
Cap. 8. Sect. 5. p. 504. Edit.

(9) Joseph. contra Apion.
Lib.

guished above other people? There is no way of accounting for it so probable, as by admitting the truth of this relation. With this all appears natural and easy, and is utterly inexplicable without it.

But to return from this digression, if it may be called a digression to consider a point of history, that is so nearly related to our subject. Nothing is fixed and stable in human affairs; and the empire of the goat, though exceeding great, was perhaps for that reason the sooner broken into pieces. (ver. 8.) *Therefore the he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones, toward the four winds of heaven.* Which the angel thus interprets, (ver. 22.) *Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power.* The empire of the goat was in its full strength, when Alexander died of a fever at Babylon. He was succeeded in the throne by his natural brother Philip Aridæus, and by his own two sons Alexander Ægus and Hercules: but in the space of (1) about fifteen years they were all murdered, and then the first horn or kingdom was entirely broken. The royal

Lib. 2. Sect. 4. p. 1364, 65.
Edit. Hudson.

(1) See Usher, Prideaux, and the Chronologers.

(2) Diod.

royal family being thus extinct, the (2) governors of provinces, who had usurped the power, assumed the title of kings: and by the defeat and death of Antigonus in the battle of Ipsus, they were reduced (3) to four, Cassander, Lyfimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus, who parted Alexander's dominions between them, and divided and settled them into four kingdoms. These four kingdoms are the *four notable horns*, which came up in the room of the first great horn; and are the same as the *four heads of the leopard* in the former vision. *Four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power*; they were to be kingdoms of Greeks, not of Alexander's own family, but only of his nation; and neither were they to be equal to him in power and dominion, as an empire united is certainly more powerful than the same empire divided, and the whole is greater than any of the parts. They were likewise to extend *toward the four winds of heaven*: and in the partition of the empire (4), Cassander held Macedon, and Greece, and the *western* parts; Lyfimachus had Thrace, Bithynia, and the *northern* regions; Ptolemy

(2) Diod. Sic. Lib. 20. Justin. Lib. 15. Cap. 2. Hujus honoris ornamentis tamdiu omnes abstinerunt, quamdiu filii

regis sui superesse potuerunt. Tanta in illis verecundia fuit, ut cum opes regias haberent, regum tamen nominibus æquo animo

Ptolemy possessed Egypt, and the *southern* countries; and Seleucus obtained Syria, and the *eastern* provinces. Thus were they divided *toward the four winds of heaven.*

As in the former vision a little horn sprang up among the ten horns of the Roman empire, so here a little horn is described as rising among the four horns of the Grecian empire. (ver. 9, 10, 11, 12.) *And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land. And it waxed great even to the host of heaven, and it cast down some of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them. Yea, he magnified himself even to the prince of the host, and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down. And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground, and it practised, and prospered. All which is thus explained by the angel: (ver. 23, 24, 25.) And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences,*

animo caruerint, quoad Alexandro justus heres fuit.

(3) Diod. Sic. Lib. 20. Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 410. Edit. Casaubon.

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Plutarch in Demetrio.

(4) Diod. Sic. ibid. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 8. Ann. 301. Ptolemy Soter 4.

E

(5) Joseph.

sentences, shall stand up. And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power : and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people. And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand, and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many : he shall also stand up against the prince of princes, but he shall be broken without hand. This little horn is by the generality of interpreters, both Jewish and Christian, ancient and modern, supposed to mean Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, who was a great enemy and cruel persecutor of the Jews. So (5) Josephus understands the prophecy, and says that ‘ our nation suffered these ‘ calamities under Antiochus Epiphanes, as Daniel saw, and many years before wrote what ‘ things should come to pass.’ In like manner (6) St. Jerome explains it of Antiochus Epiphanes, and says ‘ that he fought against Ptolemy ‘ Philometor and the Egyptians, that is *against ‘ the south*; and again *against the east*, and those ‘ who attempted a change of government in ‘ Persia;

(5) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 7. και δη ταυτα ημων συνεβη τω εδνει παρειν ιπ’ Αντιοχου τω Επιφανει, καθως ειδεν ο Δανιηλος, και πολλοις ετισιν εμπροσθεν ανεγραψε τα γενησομενα. Et sane factum est ut hæc ipsa

sub Antiocho Epiphane gens nostra pateretur, prout viderat Danielus, et multis ante annis quæ ventura erant scriptis mandaverat, p. 466. Edit. Hudson.

(6) Hieron.

‘ Persia; and lastly he fought against the Jews,
 ‘ took Judea, entered into Jerusalem, and in
 ‘ the temple of God set up the image of Jupiter
 ‘ Olympius. With St. Jerome agree most of
 the ancient fathers, and modern divines and
 commentators; but then they all allow that
 Antiochus Epiphanes was a type of Antichrist.
 Antiochus Epiphanes at first sight doth indeed
 in some features very much resemble the *little*
horn; but upon a nearer view and examination
 it will evidently appear, that in other parts there
 is no manner of similitude or correspondence
 between them. Sir Isaac Newton with that
 sagacity, which was peculiar to him, and with
 which he penetrated into scripture as well as
 into nature, (7) perceived plainly that the *little*
horn could not be drawn for Antiochus Epi-
 phanes, but must be designed for some other
 subject: and tho’ we shall not entirely follow
 his plan, nor build altogether upon his founda-
 tion, yet we shall be obliged to make use of
 several of his materials. There are then two
 ways of expounding this prophecy of the *little*
horn,

(6) Hieron. in Dan. Cap. 8.
 —contra Ptolemæum Philometorem dimicavit, hoc est, *contra meridiem*, et contra Ægyptios. Rursumque *ad orientem*, et contra eos qui res novas in Perside moliebantur: ad extremum con-

tra Judæos dimicans, capta Judæa, ingressus est Jerosolimam: et in templo Dei simulacrum Jovis Olympii statuit. Col. 1105. Edit. Benedict.

(7) Sir Isaac Newton’s Observations on Daniel, Chap. 9.

born, either by understanding it of Antiochus Epiphanes, and considering Antiochus as a type of Antichrist; or by leaving him wholly out of the question, and seeking another application: and which method of the two is to be preferred, will better appear in the progress of this discourse.

A *born* in the stile of Daniel doth not signify any particular king, but is an emblem of a kingdom. In the former vision the *ten horns* were not ten kings, but so many kingdoms, into which the Roman empire was divided: and the *little horn* did not typify a single person, but a succession of men, claiming such prerogatives, and exerting such powers, as are there specified. In this vision likewise the *two horns* of the ram do not represent the two kings, Darius the Mede and Cyrus the Persian, but the two kingdoms of Media and Persia: and for this plain reason, because the ram hath all along two horns; even when he is attacked by the he-goat, he hath still two horns; but the two kingdoms of Media and Persia had been long united under one king. The horns of the he-goat too prefigure not kings, but kingdoms. The first *great horn* doth not design Alexander himself, but the kingdom of
Alexander

(8) See this point proved as from scripture in the beginning of Mr. Mede's tract intitled
from heathen authors as well

Alexander, as long as the title continued united in him, and his brother, and two sons. The *four horns*, which arose after the first was broken, are expressly said (ver. 22.) to be *four kingdoms*: and consequently it should seem, that the *little horn* cannot signify Antiochus Epiphanes or any single king, but must denote some kingdom; by *kingdom* meaning, what (8) the ancients meant, any government, state or polity in the world, whether monarchy, or republic, or of what form soever. Now what kingdom was there, that rose up during the subsistence of the four kingdoms of the Grecian empire, and was advanced to any greatness and eminence, but the Roman? The first *great horn* was the kingdom of Alexander and his family. The *four horns* were *four kingdoms*, not of his family, but only of the nation. *Four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation*: and doth not this imply that the remaining kingdom, the kingdom of the *little horn*, should be not of the nation?

The general character therefore is better adapted to the Romans: and now let us consider the particular properties and actions of the little horn, whether they may be more justly ascribed to Antiochus Epiphanes, or to the Romans.

titled *Regnum Romanum est regnum quartum Danielis.* Mede's Works B. 3. p. 711.

mans. *And out of one of them came forth a little horn.* Antiochus Epiphanes was indeed the son of Antiochus the great, king of Syria : and he is (9) said to be the *little horn*, because he rose from small beginnings to the kingdom, having been many years an hostage at Rome. But then his kingdom was nothing more than a continuation of one of the four kingdoms ; it cannot possibly be reckoned as a fifth kingdom springing up among the four ; and the little horn is plainly some power different and distinct from the four former horns. Is not this therefore more applicable to the Romans, who were a new and different power, who rose from small beginnings to an exceeding great empire, who first subdued Macedon and Greece the capital kingdom of the goat, and from thence spread and enlarged their conquests over the rest ? Nor let it seem strange, that the Romans who were prefigured by a great *beast* in the former vision, should in this be represented only by the *horn* of a beast ; for nothing is more usual, than to describe the same person or thing under different images upon different occasions : and besides in
this

(9) Qui quum obses fuisset Romæ, et nesciente senatu cepisset imperium, &c. Hieron. in Dan. 8. Col. 1105. Edit.

Benedict. Antiochum Epiphanem significat, quia fuit Romæ obses. Vatablus in locum. Antiochus, qui obses fuit Romæ, nec

this vision the Roman empire is not designed at large, but only the Roman empire as a horn of the goat. When the Romans first got footing in Greece, then they became a horn of the goat. Out of this horn they came, and were at first a little horn, but in process of time overtopped the other horns. From Greece they extended their arms, and overran the other parts of the goat's dominions: and their actions within the dominions of the goat, and not their affairs in the western empire, are the principal subject of this prophecy. But their actions, which are most largely and particularly specified, are their great persecution and oppression of the people of God; which renders it probable, that the appellation of *the little horn* might be given them for the same reason, that the great persecutor and oppressor of the saints in the western empire is also called *the little horn*. It is the same kind of power, and therefore might be signified by the same name.

It will appear too, that the time agrees better with the Romans. *And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full,*

nec a patre designatus rex, sed invasit regnum, &c. Clarius in locum. Antiochus modicæ primum fortunæ, privatus, et Ro-

mæ obses, ex post facto dictus Epiphanes. Grotius in locum. So likewise Poole, &c.

full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up. Antiochus Epiphanes might be said indeed to *stand up in the latter time of their kingdom*; because Macedonia, the first of the four kingdoms, was conquered and reduced into a Roman province, during his reign. But when he stood up, *the transgressors in the Jewish nation were not come to the full*; for when he began to reign, (1) Onias was high-priest of the Jews, and the temporal as well as ecclesiastical government was at this time in the hands of the high-priest, and this Onias was a most worthy good magistrate, as well as a most venerable pious priest. As the author of the second book of Maccabees saith, (2 Mac. III. 1.) *the holy city was inhabited with all peace, and the laws were kept very well, because of the godliness of Onias the high-priest, and his hatred of wickedness.* It was after this time, that the great corruptions were introduced into the Jewish church and nation; and they were introduced chiefly through the means of Antiochus, by his direction, or under his authority. The Romans might much better be said to stand up *in the latter time of their kingdom*, who saw the end not only of one

(1) For these and many particulars which follow, the two books of Maccabees, and Jo-

sephus his Antiquities of the Jews must be consulted.

(2) See

one kingdom, but of all the four; who first subdued the kingdom of Macedon and Greece, and then inherited by the will of Attalus the kingdom of Pergamus, which was the remains of the kingdom of Lyſimachus, and afterwards made a province of the kingdom of Syria, and laſtly of the kingdom of Egypt. When the Romans ſtood up too, *the tranſgreſſions were come to the full*; for the high-prieſthood was expoſed to ſale; good Onias was ejected for a ſum of money to make room for wicked Jaſon, and Jaſon was again ſupplanted for a greater ſum of money by a worſe man (if poſſible) than himſelf, his brother Menelaus; and the golden veſſels of the temple were ſold to pay for the ſacriligious purchaſe. At the ſame time the cuſtoms of the heathen nations were introduced among the Jews; the youth were trained up and exerciſed after the manner of the Greeks; the people apoſtatized from the true religion, and even *the prieſts (2 Mac. IV. 14.) had no courage to ſerve any more at the altar, but deſpiſing the temple, and neglecting the ſacrifices, they haſtened to be partakers of unlawful diverſions*. Nay Jeruſalem was taken by Antiochus; forty thouſand Jews were ſlain, and as many more were ſold into ſlavery; the temple was profaned even under the conduct of the high-prieſt Menelaus, was deſiled with
fwines

swines blood, and plundered of every thing valuable; and in (2) the same year, that Paulus Æmilius the Roman consul vanquished Perseus the last king of Macedonia, and thereby put an end to that kingdom, the Jewish religion was put down, and the heathen worship was set up in the cities of Judea, and in Jerusalem; and the temple itself was consecrated to Jupiter Olympius, and his image was erected upon the very altar. Then indeed *the transgressors were come to the full*, and then, as we see, the Romans stood up, *a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences.*

A king in the prophetic stile is the same as a kingdom, and a kingdom, as we before observed, is any state or government. *A king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences.* The latter expression in the (3) Syriac is translated *skilful of ruling*, and in the Arabic *skilful of disputations*. We may suppose the meaning to be, that this should be a politic and artful, as well as a formidable power; which is not so properly the character of Antiochus, as of the Romans. They were represented in the former vision by a *beast dreadful and terrible*; and for the same reason they

(2) See Prideaux Connect. Disputationum peritus. Arab. Part 2. B. 3. Anno 168. (4) Polyb. Legat. 92. p. 916.
(3) Regnandi peritus. Syr. Edit. Casaubon. Appian de Bellis

they are here denominated *a king of fierce countenance*. He cannot so well be said to be *a king of fierce countenance*, who was even frightened out of Egypt by a message from the Romans. The (4) story is worthy of memory. Antiochus Epiphanes was making war upon Egypt, and was in a fair way of becoming master of the whole kingdom. The Romans therefore fearing lest he should grow too powerful by annexing Egypt to the crown of Syria, sent an embassy to him, to require him to desist from his enterprize, or to declare war against him. He was drawing near to besiege Alexandria, when he was met by the three ambassadors from Rome. Popillius, the chief of them, had formerly been his friend and acquaintance, while he was an hostage at Rome: and the king at their first meeting graciously offered him his hand in remembrance of their former friendship. But Popillius declined the compliment by saying, that private friendship must give place to the public welfare, and he must first know whether the king was a friend to the Roman state, before he could acknowledge him as a friend to himself: and so saying he presented to him the tables which contained

his Syriacis. p. 131. Edit. Steph. Maximus, Lib. 6. Cap. 4. Sect. 3.
p. 212. Edit. Tollii. Livius, Velleius Paterculus, Lib. 1.
Lib. 45. Cap. 12. Valerius Cap. 1c. Justin. Lib. 34. Cap. 3.
(5) Sir

tained the decree of the senate, and desired an immediate answer. Antiochus opened and perused them, and replied that he would consider the matter with his friends, and return his answer very speedily. But Popillius with a wand that he carried in his hand drew a circle in the sand round the king, and insisted upon his answer, before he stirred out of that circle. The king astonished at this peremptory and imperious manner of proceeding, after some hesitation, said that he would obey the commands of the senate: and then at length Popillius reached forth his hand to him as a friend and confederate. This incident happened very soon after the conquest of Macedonia, which as it dismayed Antiochus, so it emboldened the Romans to act in this manner: and this being their first memorable action as soon as they became a horn or kingdom of the govt, it is very fitly said of them, more fitly than of Antiochus, *a king of fierce countenance shall stand up.*

The other actions likewise of the little horn accord better with the Romans. This horn, tho' little at first, yet *waxed exceeding great, toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land.* This horn therefore, as Sir Isaac Newton (5) justly observes, was to rise up
in

(5) Sir Isaac Newton's Observ. on Daniel Chap. 9. p. 119, 120.

(6) 2 Mac.

in the north-west parts of those nations, which composed the body of the goat; and from thence was to extend his dominion towards Egypt, Syria, and Judea. Observe the particulars. He *waxed exceeding great*: and so did the Roman empire even within the territories of the goat, but not so did Antiochus Epiphanes; for he was so far from enlarging the kingdom of Syria, that it was less in his time than under most of his predecessors, and he (6) left it as he found it, tributary to the Romans. — *Toward the south*: Antiochus indeed did several times invade Egypt, and gained great advantages over Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt: but he was never able to make himself absolute master of the country, and annex it to the kingdom of Syria; as the Romans made it a province of their empire, and kept possession of it for several centuries. His designs were frustrated, as we have seen, by an embassy from the Romans; and he went out of Egypt baffled and disgraced, a word from them being as effectual as an army. — *Toward the east*: the Romans did grow very powerful toward the east; they conquered and made a province of Syria, which was the eastern kingdom of the goat: but Antiochus was seated in the east himself, and did not extend his dominions

(6) 2 Maccab. VIII. 10.

(7) Appian.

nions farther eastward. On the contrary the Parthians had withdrawn their obedience from the kings of Syria, and had erected a growing kingdom in the east. Antiochus did indeed (7) vanquish Artaxias, the tributary king of Armenia, who had revolted from him; but this was rather in the north than in the east. He had not the like success among the Persians, who were also dilatory in paying their tribute; for (8) having heard much of the riches of Elymais, and particularly of the temple there, he went thither with a design of seizing the treasures of the city and temple; but the inhabitants rose upon him, repelled and routed him and his army, so that he was forced to fly with disappointment and disgrace out of the country; and soon after he sickened and died.—*And toward the pleasant land*, that is Judea; for so it is called in the Plalms (CVI. 24.) *the pleasant land*; and in Jeremiah (III. 19.) *a pleasant land, a goodly heritage*; and so twice again afterwards in Daniel. (XI. 16, 41.) Antiochus did indeed take Jerusalem, and miserably harass and oppress the Jews, as it has been above related: but the

(7) Appian. de Bell. Syr. Benedi&t.
 p. 117 & 131. Edit. Steph. (8) 1 Maccab. VI. 1—4.
 p. 187 & 212. Edit. Tollii. 2 Maccab. IX. 1, 2. Joseph.
 Porphyrius apud Hieron. in Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 8. Sect. 1.
 Dan. 11. Col. 1133. Edit. p. 544. Edit. Hudson. Porphyrius
 apud

the Jews in a little time, under the conduct of the Maccabees, recovered their liberties, and established their religion and government in greater splendor and security than before. The Romans more effectually conquered and subdued them, first made a province of their country, and then destroyed their city and temple, and dispersed the people, so that after so fatal a fall they have never from that time to this been able to rise again.

Another remarkable property, that eminently distinguished the little horn from all others, was that *his power should be mighty, but not by his own power*; which commentators are much at a loss to explain. Some say, (9) that he should be mighty not so much by his own industry, as by the gift of God: but so are all horns or kingdoms whatever. Others say, (1) that God should give him this power for the punishment of his people; and others again, (2) that he should obtain it by the factions and perfidy and baseness of the Jews, who should betray their country to him: but these limit and restrain the meaning to a particular subject, to his power
over

apud Hieron. *ibid.*

(9) Non propria industria, sed Deo dante. Vatablus.

(1) Quia Deus voluit per ipsum punire populum suum.

4

Clarius.

(2) So Poole, Lowth, &c. Non tam ex ipso causa erit tanti incrementi, quam ex factionibus Judæorum. Grotius.

(3) Appian

over the Jews, whereas it is said in the general, that *his power should be mighty, but not by his own power.* His power in general, not only over this or that particular people, *should be mighty, but not by his own power.* The best explanation that they can give of it, who understand the whole of Antiochus Epiphanes, is that (3) he attained to the crown chiefly by the favor and assistance of Eumenes king of Pargamus and Attalus his brother, who having at that time some jealousy of the Romans, were desirous to make the king of Syria their friend: but we do not read that they assisted him in any of his wars afterwards, and neither was his kingdom strengthened by foreign armies or alliances. They who conceive Antiochus to be a type of Antichrist, (4) offer a fairer interpretation, because Antichrist was to exercise an usurped authority, and not his own, and the kings of the earth, according to St. John, (Rev. XVII. 13.) were to *give their power and strength unto the beast.* But this part of the prophecy, as well as the rest, can no where be so justly and properly applied, as to the Romans. With them it quadrates exactly, and with none of the other horns or kingdoms of the goat. The
strength

(3) Appian de Bell. Syr. p. 116. Edit. Steph. p. 187. Edit. Tollii.

(4) See

strength of the other kingdoms consisted in themselves, and had its foundation in some part of the goat: but the Roman empire, as a horn or kingdom of the goat, was not mighty by its own power, was not strong by virtue of the goat, but drew its nourishment and strength from Rome and Italy. There grew the trunk and body of the tree, tho' the branches extended over Greece, Asia, Syria, and Egypt.

The remainder of the prophecy relates mostly to the persecution and oppression of the people of God. *And he waxed great even to the host of heaven, (or against the host of heaven) and he cast down some of the host, and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them,* that is, the Jewish state in general, *the mighty and the holy people,* (ver. 24.) or the Priests and Levites in particular; who are called *stars*, as they were eminent for their station and illustrious for their knowledge; and *the host of heaven*, as they watched and served in the temple, and their service is denominated *a warfare.* (Num. VIII. 24, 25.) This passage was in some measure fulfilled by Antiochus Epiphanes as well as by the Romans: but our Saviour making use of the like expressions, (Mat. XXIV. 29.) *the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken,* in speaking of the destruc-

(4) See Lowth's Comment.
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(5) 2 Macc.

destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, this passage also may more properly be referred to that event.

Yea he magnified himself even to the prince of the host, (or against the prince of the host) and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down.. Antiochus did indeed take away the daily sacrifice, but he did not cast down the place of his sanctuary, he did not destroy the temple. He took away the daily sacrifice for a few years, but the Romans for many ages: and the Romans likewise utterly destroyed the temple, which he spoiled only and profaned.

And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression. The word here translated *an host* is rendered in other places, (Job VII. 1.) and in the book of Daniel itself, (X. 1.) *an appointed time*: *And an appointed time was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression*: Or as we read in the margin, *The host was given over for the transgression against the daily sacrifice, and he cast down the truth to the ground, and he practised, and prospered.* Or as the same thing is expressed by the angel: *He shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people*;

(5) 2 Macc. V. 14.

(6) Joseph. De Bell. Jud.

Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 2, & 3.
p. 1291. Edit. Hudson.

(7) 1 Macc.

people; and through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his band, and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many. But Antiochus did not so mightily destroy the Jews, nor prosper in his practices and designs against them. When he took Jerusalem, (5) he slew forty thousand, and sold forty thousand more: but when the city was besieged and taken by the Romans, (6) the number of the captives amounted to ninety seven thousand, and of the slain to eleven hundred thousand. The Romans too carried their conquest and revenge so far, as to put an end to the government of the Jews, and entirely to take away their place and nation. Antiochus meant as much to root out the whole people; his malice was as great, but his success was not equal: for though his forces were victorious at first, yet they were defeated at last, and his (7) generals, Apollonius, Seron, Nicanor and Gorgias, Timotheus and Bacchides, and even Lyfias himself, were all shamefully routed one after another: and the news of these defeats hastened his death.

It is farther added, that *he shall also stand up against the prince of princes.* If by the prince of princes the high-priest be meant, it is very true that

(7) 1 Macc. III. IV. 2 Macc. Lib. 12. Cap. 7. p. 537. Edit. VIII. X, XI. Josephi Antiq. Hudson.

that Antiochus did put in and put out the high-priests at pleasure, but the Romans took away the whole administration. If by *the prince of princes* be meant, as most probably was meant, the Messiah, then Antiochus had no share in the completion; it was effected by the Romans. It was by the malice of the Jews, but by the authority of the Romans, that he was put to death; and he suffered the punishment of the Roman malefactors and slaves. And indeed it is very worthy of our most serious consideration, whether this part of the prophecy be not a sketch of the fate and sufferings of the Christian, as well as of the Jewish church. Nothing is more usual with the prophets than to describe the religion and worship of later times by metaphors and figures borrowed from their own religion. The Christians may full as well as the Jews be comprehended under the name of *the holy people*, or *people of the holy ones*. And the Romans not only crucified our Saviour, but also persecuted his disciples for above three centuries: and when at length they embraced the Christian religion, they soon corrupted it; so that it may be questioned, whether their favor was not as hurtful to the church, as their enmity. As the power of the Roman emperors declined, that of the Roman pontiffs increased: and may it not with equal truth and justice be said of the latter,

as of the former, that they *cast down the truth to the ground, and practised, and prospered?* How applicable in this sense is every part of the angel's interpretation! *A king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences shall stand up. And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power: and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people, (or the people of the holy ones:) And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand, and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many: he shall also stand up against the prince of princes, but he shall be broken without hand.* And this farther opens and explains the reason of the appellation of *the little horn*. The persecuting power of Rome, whether exercised towards the Jews, or towards the Christians, or by the emperors, or by the popes, is still *the little horn*. The tyranny is the same; but as exerted in Greece and the east, it is the little horn of the he-goat or the third empire; as exerted in Italy and the west, it is the little horn of the fourth beast or the fourth empire.

But the little horn, like other tyrannical powers, was to come to a remarkable end; *he shall be broken without hand.* As the stone in Nebuchadnezzar's dream was *cut out of the*

mountain without hands, that is not by human, but by supernatural means; so the little horn shall be broken without band, not die the common death, not fall by the hand of men, but perish by a stroke from heaven. And this agrees perfectly with the former predictions of the fatal catastrophe of the Romans. The stone, that is the power of Christ, (II. 34.) smote the image upon his feet of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. Again (VII. 11.) I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake; I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame. And again (ver. 26.) the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume, and to destroy it unto the end. All which implies that the dominion of the Romans shall finally be destroyed with some extraordinary manifestation of the divine power. It is indeed very true, that Antiochus Epiphanes died in an extraordinary manner. He was returning from his unsuccessful expedition into Persia, when he heard the news of the defeat of his armies one after another by the forces of the Maccabees. He set forward therefore in great rage and fury, breathing

(3) Polyb. p. 997. Edit. Casaubon. Appian de Bell. Syr. p. 131. Edit. Steph. p. 212. Edit. Tollii. Diodorus et Porphyrius apud Hieron. in Dan. 11. Col. 1131 et 1133. Edit. Bene-

ing nothing but death and destruction to the whole generation of the Jews. But in the way he was seized with violent pains in his bowels; and having a fall from his chariot, he was sorely bruised, and his inward pains grew more violent, so that he was not able to proceed in his journey, but was forced to stop at a little town upon the road. There he lay in great torment, and filthy ulcers broke out in his body, from whence issued worms, and such a stench, that he became intolerable to others, and even to himself. Nor were the torments and agonies of his mind less than those of his body. He was vexed even to distraction, thought he saw dreadful specters and apparitions, and suffered all the pangs and horrors of a guilty conscience: and in this miserable condition he lay pining and rotting till he died. This is the account that is given of his death, and (8) confirmed by Heathen as well as by Jewish historians: but with this difference, that the former ascribe it to the vengeance of the Gods for the sacrilege that he designed to commit at Elymais; the latter represent it as the just judgment of heaven for the sacrilege that he really committed at Jerusalem, and for the barbarous slaughter that he made of so many thousands of

Benedict. 1 Macab. VI. 1—16. Lib. 12. Cap. 8. Sect. 1. p.
2 Macab. IX. Joseph. Antiq. 544. Edit. Hudson.

of the Jews; and they say, that he himself upon his death-bed confessed as much: and which of these accounts is the more probable and credible, every intelligent reader will easily determin.

By thus tracing the particulars it appears, that tho' some of them may agree very well with Antiochus Epiphanes, yet others can by no means be reconciled to him; but they all agree and correspond exactly with the Romans, and with no one else; so that the application of the character to them must be the right application. The fitness and propriety of it will farther appear by considering the time, that is allotted for the duration and continuance of the vision. *I will make thee know*, saith the angel to Daniel, (ver. 19.) *what shall be in the last end, or to the last end of the indignation*: that is, as Mr. Lowth paraphraseth it, "I will explain to thee the whole series of God's Judgments upon his people to the end and conclusion of them:" but that end and conclusion is not yet come. There are intimations in the prophets, that God's indignation against his people will be accomplished, and the final destruction of the Roman dominion will fall out about the same period. But the time is more particularly noted. One angel

(9) Ἔως πότε ἡ θρασις ἐπιστάι, Quousquevisio hæc continget, et
 ἢ δύσιν ἢ ἀρθεύσα, κ. τ. λ. Sept. auferetur sacrificium, &c. Arab.
 Usque-

angel asked another angel, (ver. 13.) *How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot?* In the original there is no such word as *concerning*; and Mr. Lowth rightly observes, that the words may be rendered more agreeably to the Hebrew thus, *For how long a time shall the vision last, the daily sacrifice be taken away, and the transgression of desolation continue, &c?* After the same manner the question is translated by the (9) Seventy, and in the Arabic version, and in the Vulgar Latin. The answer is (ver. 14.) *Unto two thousand, and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed.* In the original it is, *Unto two thousand and three hundred evenings and mornings*, an evening and morning being in Hebrew the notation of time for a day; and in allusion to this expression it is said afterwards (ver. 26.) *The vision of the evening and the morning is true.* Now these two thousand and three hundred days can by no computation be accommodated to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, even tho' the days be taken for natural days. Two thousand and three hundred days are six years and somewhat more than a quarter: but the profanation of the altar under Antiochus

Usquequo visio, et iuge sacrificium, &c. Vulg.

(1) Joseph.

Antiochus lasted but three years complete, according to the author of the first book of the Maccabees ; (1 Macc. I. 59. compared with IV. 52.) and the desolation of the temple, and the taking away of the daily sacrifice by Apollonius continued but three years and a half, according (1) to Josephus. Mr. Mede proposeth a method to reconcile the difference, and (2) saith that the time is “not to be reckoned from the
 “highth of the calamity, when the *daily sacrifice should be taken away*, (from thence it is but
 “three years) but from the beginning of the
 “transgression, which occasioned this desolation,
 “and is described 1 Macc. I. 11, &c.” But Antiochus began to reign, according to the author of the first book of the Maccabees, (I. 10.) *in the 137th year of the kingdom of the Greeks* or æra of the Seleucidæ ; and *in those days* was the beginning of the transgression, which is described 1 Macc. I. 11, &c. that is ten or eleven years before the cleansing of the sanctuary, which was performed *in the 148th year* according to the same author : (IV. 52.) Or if we compute the time from Antiochus’s first going up against Jerusalem, and spoiling

(1) Josephi Proem. de Bell. Jud. Sect. 7. p. 956. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. p. 958. Edit. Hudson.

(2) Mr. Mede’s Apostasy of the latter times. Part 1. Chap. 14. in his Works. B. 3. p. 659.

(3) Hunc

spoiling the city and temple, these things were done according to the same author (I. 20.) *in the 143d year*; so that this reckoning would fall short of the term assigned, as the other exceeds it. The difficulty or impossibility rather of making these two thousand and three hundred days accord with the times of Antiochus, I suppose, obliged the ancients to consider Antiochus as a type of Antichrist: and therefore (3) Jerome saith in his comment, that this place most Christians refer to Antichrist; and affirms, that what was transacted in a type under Antiochus, will be fulfilled in truth under Antichrist. The days without doubt are to be taken, agreeably to the stile of Daniel in other places, not for natural, but for prophetic days or years: and as the question was asked, not only how long the daily sacrifice shall be taken away and the transgression of desolation continue, but also how long the vision shall last; so the answer is to be understood, and these two thousand and three hundred days denote the whole time from the beginning of the vision to the cleansing of the sanctuary. The sanctuary is not yet cleansed,
and

(3) Hunc locum plerique nostrorum ad Antichristum referunt: et quod sub Antiocho in typo factum est, sub illo in ve-

ritate dicunt esse complendum. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1106. Edit. Benedict.

(4) ἡμεραι

and consequently these years are not yet expired. When these years shall be expired, then their end will clearly show from whence their beginning is to be dated, whether from the vision of the ram, or of the he-goat, or of the little horn. It is difficult to fix the precise time, when the prophetic dates begin, and when they end, till the prophecies are fulfilled, and the event declares the certainty of them. And the difficulty is increased in this case by reason of some variety in the copies. For the (4) Seventy have *four hundred* in this place; and others, as (5) Jeromē informs us, read *two hundred* instead of three hundred. If we follow the reading of the Seventy, *Unto two thousand and four hundred days or years*, then perhaps they are to be computed from the vision of the ram, or the establishment of the Persian empire. If we follow the other reading mentioned by Jerome, *Unto two thousand and two hundred days or years*, then perhaps they are to be computed from the vision of the little horn, or the Romans invading the Grecian empire: And it is remarkable, (6) that the

(4) ἡμεραι διςχιλιαι και τετρα-
κοσιαι. Sept.

(5) Quidam pro duobus
millibus trecentis, duo millia
ducentos legunt. Hieron. ibid.

(6) See Usher's Annals. A.

M. 3804.

(7) See Usher, Prideaux,
&c.

(8) See Placita Doctorum He-
bræorum de magno die judicii,
et regno Messiae tunc futuro, in

Mede's

the Romans first passed over with an army, and made war upon Philip king of Macedonia, just 200 years before Christ. But if we still retain the common reading, (which probably is the truest and best) *Unto two thousand and three hundred days or years*, then I conceive they are to be computed from the vision of the he-goat, or Alexander's invading Asia. Alexander invaded Asia (7) in the year of the world 3670, and in the year before Christ 334. Two thousand and three hundred years from that time will draw towards the conclusion of the sixth millennium of the world, and about that period, according to (8) an old tradition, which was current before our Saviour's time, and was probably founded upon the prophecies, great changes and revolutions are expected; and particularly as (9) Rabbi Abraham Sebah saith, Rome is to be overthrown, and the Jews are to be restored. The angel farther affirms the truth and certainty of the vision, and of the time allotted for it. (ver. 26.) *The vision of the evening and the morning, which was told, is true: wherefore shut thou up the vision, for it shall be for many days.* The shutting
up

Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 535. and Placita Doctorum Hebræorum de Babylonis seu Romæ excidio, in Mede's Works, B. 5. p. 902.

(9) R. Abraham Sebah in Gen. 1. ait, currente sexto annorum mundi millenario Romam evertendam, et Judæos reducendos Ibid. p. 903.

(1) See

up of the vision implies, that it should not be understood of some time; and we cannot say that it was sufficiently understood, so long as Antiochus Epiphanes was taken for the little horn. The vision being *for many days*, must necessarily infer a longer term, than the calamity under Antiochus of three years or three years and a half, or even than the whole time from the first beginning of the vision in Cyrus to the cleansing of the sanctuary under Antiochus, which was not (1) above 371 years. Such a vision could not well be called long to Daniel, who had seen so much longer before; and especially as the time assigned for it is *two thousand and three hundred days*, which since they cannot by any account be natural days, must needs be prophetic days, or two thousand and three hundred years. Such a vision may properly enough be said to be *for many days*.

Daniel was much affected with the misfortunes and afflictions, which were to befall the church and people of God. (ver. 27.) *And I Daniel fainted and was sick certain days; afterward I rose up, and did the king's business, and I was astonished at the vision, but none understood it.*

Mun-

(1) See Usher, Prideaux, fed. A. M. 3839, before Christ &c. The first year of Cyrus 165. was A. M. 3468, before Christ 536. The sanctuary was clean-

(2) Et quod subditur de agrotatione Danielis, ostenditur istam pro-

Munster, and Clarius who generally transcribes Munster, (2) are of opinion that Daniel was visited by this sickness, lest he should be lifted up by the sublimity of the visions. I presume they thought his case somewhat like St. Paul's, (2 Cor. XII. 7.) who had *a thorn in the flesh*, or a bodily infirmity, *lest he should be exalted above measure thro' the abundance of the revelations*. But it is much more probable, that Daniel's sickness proceeded from his grief for his religion and country: as in the former vision *he was grieved in his spirit, his cogitations much troubled him, and his countenance changed in him*, at the success of the little horn there described. And this is another most conclusive argument, that the calamities under Antiochus Epiphanes could not possibly be the main end and ultimate scope of this prophecy. For the calamities under Antiochus were of small extent and of short duration, in comparison with what the nation had suffered, and was then suffering under Nebuchadnezzar and his successors. Antiochus took the city, but Nebuchadnezzar burnt it to the ground. Antiochus profaned the temple, but Nebuchadnezzar utterly destroyed it. Antiochus

prophetæ immittam, ne extolleretur sublimitate visionum, quas solus intelligebat. Munsterus. Et quod de ægrotatione

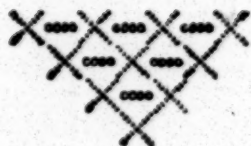
sua dicit, ostenditur, illam prophetæ immittam, ne extolleretur sublimitate visionum, quas solus intelligebat. Clarius.

chus made captives forty thousand of the Jews, but Nebuchadnezzar carried the whole nation into captivity. Antiochus took away the daily sacrifice for three years and a half, but Nebuchadnezzar abolished all the temple service for seventy years. Why then should Daniel, who had seen and felt these greater calamities, be so much grieved at those lesser disasters of the nation? Present and sensible evils usually affect us most: and therefore that Daniel was so much more affected with the future than with the present, *was astonished, and fainted, and was sick certain days*, can be ascribed to nothing but to his foreseeing, that the future distress and misery of the nation would greatly exceed all that they sustained at present. But the calamities under Antiochus were much less, and much shorter. Those only which they suffered from the Romans, were greater and worse than the evils brought on them by Nebuchadnezzar. And *the transgression of desolation* hath now continued these 1700 years. They expect, and we expect, that at length *the sanctuary will be cleansed*, and that in God's determined time his promise will be fully accomplished; (Amos IX. 11, 12. Acts XV. 16, 17.) *I will return, and will build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down; and I will build again the ruins thereof,*

thereof, and I will set it up; That the residue of men might seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called, saith the Lord, who doeth all these things.

This concern of Daniel, and affection for his religion and country, shew him in a very amiable light, and give an additional lustre and glory to his character. But not only in this instance, but in every other, he manifests the same public spirit, and appears no less eminently a patriot than a prophet. Tho' he was torn early from his country and enjoyed all the advantages that he could enjoy in foreign service, yet nothing could make him forget his native home: And in the next chapter we see him pouring out his soul in prayer, and supplicating most earnestly and devoutly for the pardon and restoration of his captive nation. It is a gross mistake therefore to think, that religion will ever extinguish or abate our love for our country. The scriptures will rather incite and inflame it, exhibit several illustrious examples of it, and recommend and inforce this, as well as all other moral and social virtues; and especially when the interests of true religion and of our country are so blended and interwoven, that they cannot well be separated the one from the other. This is a double incentive to the love of our country;

and with the same zeal that every pious Jew might say formerly, every honest Briton may say now, with the good Psalmist, (Psal. CXXII. 6, &c.) *O pray for the peace of Jerusalem; they shall prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and plenteousness within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions sake I will wish thee prosperity: Yea because of the house of the Lord our God I will seek to do thee good.*





XVI.

DANIEL'S *Prophecy of the things noted
in the scripture of truth.*

IN TWO PARTS.

PART I.

IT is the usual method of the holy Spirit to make the latter prophecies explanatory of the former; and revelation is (Prov. IV. 18.) *as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.* The four great empires of the world, which were shown to Nebuchadnezzar in the form of a great image, were again more particularly represented to Daniel in the shape of four great wild beasts. In like manner, the memorable events, which were revealed to Daniel in the vision of the ram and he-goat, are here again more clearly and explicitly revealed in his last vision by an angel; so that this latter prophecy may not improperly be said to be a comment and explanation of the former. This revelation was made (X. 1.) *in the third year*

of Cyrus king of Persia, when Daniel was very far advanced in years. For the third year of Cyrus was the seventy third of Daniel's captivity; and being a youth when he was carried captive, he cannot be supposed now to have been less than ninety: and not long after this, it is reasonable to believe that he died. Old as he was, he set his heart to understand the former revelations which had been made to him, and particularly the vision of the ram and he-goat, as I think we may collect from the sequel: and for this purpose he prayed, and fasted three weeks. His fasting and prayers had the desired effect; for an angel was sent, and said unto him, (ver. 12.) Fear not Daniel; for from the first day that thou didst set thine heart to understand, and to chasten thyself before thy God, thy words were heard, and I am come for thy words. And whoever would attain the same ends, and excel in divine knowledge, must pursue the same means, and habituate himself to study, temperance, and devotion. The angel declares the design of his coming, (ver. 14.) Now I am come to make thee understand what shall befall thy people in the latter days; for yet the vision is for many days. This prophecy therefore contains the fate and fortune of the people of God for many years. As it was said before, (ver. 1.) the thing was true, but the time appointed
was

was long : and consequently this prophecy must extend farther than from the third year of Cyrus to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, which was not (1) above 370 years. In reality it comprehends many signal events after that time to the end of the world: but the types and figures of the things are not exhibited in this as in most of the other visions, and then expounded by the angel; but the angel relates the whole, and not by way of vision, but only by narration, informs Daniel of *that which is noted in the scripture of truth.* (ver. 21.) *I will show thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth,* as if future events were noted in a book before God: and this prophecy, being taken from *the scripture of truth*, is therefore deserving of our strictest attention; and we may depend upon the certainty of all the particulars contained therein, if we can but rightly understand and expound them.

The angel first prophesies of the Persian empire, which was then subsisting. *Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all; and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia.* (XI. 2.) *There shall stand*

(1) The third year of Cyrus A. M. 3840, before Christ 164, was A. M. 3470, before Christ See Usher, Prideaux, &c.
534. Antiochus Epiphanes died

stand up yet, that is after Cyrus, the founder of the empire, who was then reigning. Three kings in Persia; these were Cambyfes, the son of Cyrus; Smerdis the Magian, who pretended to be another son of Cyrus, but was really an impostor; and Darius the son of Hyftaspes, who married the daughter of Cyrus. And the fourth shall be far richer than they all. The fourth after Cyrus was Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius; of whom Justin (2) truly remarks, ‘ If you consider this king, you may praise his riches, not the general; of which he had so great abundance in his kingdom, that when rivers were dried up by his army, yet his wealth remained unexhausted.’ Pythius the Lydian (3) was at that time the richest subject in the world. He generously entertained Xerxes and all his army, and proffered him two thousand talents of silver, and three millions, nine hundred ninety-three thousand pieces of gold with the stamp of Darius, towards defraying the charges

(2) Si regem spectes, divitias, non ducem laudes; quarum tanta copia in regno ejus fuit, ut, cum flumina multitudine consumerentur, opes tamen regiae superessent. Justin. Lib. 2. Cap. 10.

(3) Herod. Lib. 7. Sect. 27,

&c. p. 395. Edit. Gale.

(4) Bernard de ponderibus et mensuris antiquis. p. 171. Prideaux connect, Part 1. B. 2. Anno 538. Darius the Mede 1,

(5) Καὶ ἑστῆς τῆς ἐργασίας ἐπὶ τῶν ἐργασίᾳ ποιεῖται, χωρὶς πάσης ἐργασίας

charges of the war. But Xerxes was so far from wanting any supplies, that he rewarded Pythius for his liberality, and presented him with seven thousand Darics, to make up his number a complete round sum of four millions. Each of these Darics (4) was worth better than a guinea of our money. *And by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all, both subjects and allies, against the realm of Grecia.* Xerxes's expedition into Greece is one of the most memorable adventures in ancient history. Herodotus affirms, that (5) Xerxes in raising his army searched every place of the continent, and it was the greatest army that ever was brought into the field; for what nation was there, says he, that Xerxes led not out of Asia into Greece? Herodotus lived in that age; and he (6) recounts with great exactness the various nations of which Xerxes's army was composed, and computes that the whole number of horse and foot, by land and sea, out of Asia and out of Europe,

πρεσβυων της ηπειρου. Xerxes autem ita copias suas contraxit, ut omnem continentis locum scrutaretur.—*ταλων γαρ των ημεις ιδμεν πολλων δη μεγιστος υτος εγενετο.* nam omnium quos novimus exercituum hic multo maximus extiait.—*τι γαρ εκ ηγαγε εκ της*

Ασιης εθνος επι την Έλλαδα Ξερξης; quam enim ex Asia gentem in Græciam non adduxit Xerxes? Herod. Lib. 7. Sect. 20, 21. p. 393. Edit. Gale.

(6) Herod. ibid. Sect. 60, &c. 184, &c.

G 4

(7) Diod.

Europe, soldiers and followers of the camp, amounted to five millions, two hundred eighty three thousand, two hundred and twenty men. Nor was Xerxes content with stirring up the east, but was for stirring up (7) the west likewise, and engaged the Carthaginians in his alliance, that while he with his army overwhelmed Greece, they might fall upon the Greek colonies in Sicily and Italy: and the Carthaginians for this purpose not only raised all the forces they could in Africa, but also hired a great number of mercenaries in Spain, and Gaul, and Italy; so that their army consisted of three hundred thousand men, and their fleet of two hundred ships. Thus did Xerxes *stir up all against the realm of Grecia*; and after him no mention is made of any other king of Persia. ‘ It is to be noted, (8) saith Jerome, that the prophet having enumerated four kings of the Persians after Cyrus, slippeth over nine, and passeth to Alexander; for the prophetic spirit did not care to follow the order of history, but only to touch upon the most famous events.’ Xerxes was the principal author of the long wars and inveterate hatred between the Grecians and Persians;

(7) Diod. Sic. Lib. 11. in initio.

post Cyrum regibus Persarum enumeratis, novem præterierit, et transferit ad Alexandrum.

(8) Notandum quod quattuor

Non

fians ; and as he was the last king of Persia who invaded Greece, he is mentioned last. The Grecians then in their turn invaded Asia : and Xerxes's expedition being the most memorable on one side, as Alexander's was on the other, the reigns of these two are not improperly connected together.

Alexander is thus characterized, (ver. 3.) *And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will.* That Alexander was *a mighty king* and conqueror ; that he *ruled with great dominion*, not only over Greece and the whole Persian empire, but likewise added India to his conquests ; and that he *did according to his will*, none daring, not even his friends, to contradict and oppose him, or if they did, like Clitus and Callisthenes, paying for it with their lives ; are facts too well known to require any particular proof or illustration.

But his kingdom was soon to be broken and divided ; (ver. 4.) *And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven ; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled ; for his kingdom shall be pluckt up even for others*

Non enim curæ fuit spiritui prophetali historię ordinem sequi ; sed præclara quæque perstrin-

gere. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1121. Edit. Benedict.

(9) βω

others besides those. These particulars were in good measure suggested before. (VIII. 8, 22.) *He waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven. Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power.* Alexander died in Babylon, (9) having lived only thirty two years and eight months, of which he reigned twelve years and eight months. In so short a time did this sun of glory rise and set: and in the space of about fifteen years afterwards his family and posterity became extinct, and chiefly by the means of Cassander. It was soon after Alexander's death, that his wife Statira, the daughter of Darius, (1) was murdered out of jealousy by his other wife Roxana; and her body was thrown into a well, and earth cast upon it. His natural brother Aridæus, who succeeded him in the throne by the name of Philip, (2) was together with his wife Eurydice killed by the command

(9) εβίω δε δύο και τριακοντία
 1. ετη, και τε τρις μηνας επελαβεν
 οκτω, ως λεγει Αριστοβελος. εβασι-
 λευσε δε δωδεκα ετη, και τετς οκτω
 μηνας τελευς. Vixit annos
 XXXII, menses VIII, ut autor
 est Aristobulus. Regnavit annos
 XII, menses VIII. Arrian Lib.

7. Cap. 28. p. 309. Edit.
 Gronov.

(1) Plutarch in fine Vit. Alex.
 p. 707. Edit. Paris 1624.

(2) Diod. Sic. Lib. 19. p.
 676. Edit. Steph. p. 660. Tom.
 2. Edit. Rhod. Justin. Lib. 14.
 Cap. 5.

(3) Diod.

mand of Olympias the mother of Alexander, after he had borne the title of king six years and some months: and not long after (3) Olympias herself was slain in revenge by the soldiers of Cassander. Alexander Ægus, the son of Alexander by Roxana, as soon as he was born, was joined in the title of king with Philip Aridæus; and when he had attained to the fourteenth year of his age, (4) he and his mother were privately murdered in the castle of Amphipolis by order of Cassander. In the second year after this, (5) Hercules, the other son of Alexander by Barsine the widow of Memnon, was also with his mother privately murdered by Polysperchon, induced thereto by the great offers made to him by Cassander. Such was the miserable end of Alexander's family: and then the governors made themselves kings each in his province, from which title they had abstained, (6) as long as any just heir of Alexander was surviving. Thus was Alexander's kingdom *broken and divided not to his posterity, but was pluckt up even*
for

(3) Diod. Sic. *ibid.* p. 698, 699. Edit. Steph. p. 694. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Justin. Lib. 14. Cap. 6. Pausanias Bæot. five Lib. 9. p. 725. Edit. Kuhnii.

(4) Diod. Sic. *ibid.* p. 728. Edit. Steph. p. 739. Tom. 2, Edit.

Rhod. Justin. Lib. 15. Cap. 2. Pausanias, *ibid.*

(5) Diod. Sic. Lib. 20. p. 746. Edit. Steph. p. 767. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Justin. *ibid.* Pausanias, *ibid.*

(6)—quoad Alexandro justus heres fuit. Justin, *ibid.*

(7) Justin.

for others besides those : and it was divided towards the four winds of heaven ; for four of his captains, as it hath been shown in former dissertations, prevailed over the rest, and Cassander reigned in Greece and the west, Lyfimachus in Thrace and the north, Ptolemy in Egypt and the south, and Seleucus in Syria and the east.

But tho' the kingdom of Alexander was divided into four principal parts, yet only two of them have a place allotted in this prophecy, Egypt and Syria. These two were by far the greatest and most considerable : and these two at one time were in a manner the only remaining kingdoms of the four ; the (7) kingdom of Macedon having been conquered by Lyfimachus and annexed to Thrace ; and (8) Lyfimachus again having been conquered by Seleucus, and the kingdoms of Macedon and Thrace annexed to Syria. These two likewise continued distinct kingdoms, after the others were swallowed up by the power of the Romans. But there is a more proper and peculiar reason for enlarging upon

(7) Justin. Lib. 16. Cap. 3. Edit. Steph. p. 207. Edit. Tollii. Plutarch. in Pyrrho. p. 390. Memnonis Excerpta apud Photium. Cap. 9. p. 714. Edit. Rothom. 1653.
 Edit. Paris. 1624. Pausanias in Attic. five Lib. 1. Cap. 10. p. 24. Edit. Kuhnii.

(8) Justin. Lib. 17. Cap. 1 & 2. Appian de Bell. Syr. - p. 128. (9) Idcirco autem cætera regna dimittens, Macedoniæ videlicet et Asiæ, tantum de Ægypti

upon these two particularly; (9) because Judea lying between them was sometimes in the possession of the kings of Egypt, and sometimes of the kings of Syria; and it is the purpose of holy scripture, to interweave only so much of foreign affairs, as hath some relation to the Jews: and it is in respect of their situation to Judea, that the kings of Egypt and Syria are called the kings of the *south* and the *north*. *And the king of the south shall be strong*, (ver. 5.) *and one of his princes*, that is of Alexander's princes, *and he shall be strong above him*. There is manifestly either some redundance, or some defect (1) in the Hebrew copy; which should be rendered as it is (2) by the Seventy, *And the king of the south shall be strong, and one of his princes shall be strong above him*; or perhaps may better be rendered thus, *And the king of the south shall be strong, and one of his princes; and the king of the north shall be strong above him, and have dominion; his dominion shall be a great dominion*. The king of the *south* was indeed very strong; for Ptolemy

Ægypti et Syriæ narrat regibus: quia in medio Judæa posita, nunc ab illis, nunc ab istis regibus tenebatur. Et scripturæ sanctæ propositum est, non externam absque Judææ historiam texere; sed eam quæ Israeli populo copulata est. Hieron. in

locum. Col. 1122. Edit. Benedict.

(1) Either the ו in מלך is redundant, or the words מלך הַצֶּפֶן are wanting.

(2) Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς ἔσται αὐτοῦ. Sept.

(3)—ad

(3) Ptolemy had annexed Cyprus, Phœnicia, Caria, and many islands, and cities, and regions to Egypt, as Jerome here commemorates out of the ancients. He had likewise enlarged the bounds of his empire, as (4) Justin testifies, by the acquisition of Cyrene, and was now become so great, that he was in a condition not so much to fear, as to be feared by his enemies. But still the king of the north, or Seleucus Nicator, was *strong above him*; for having annexed, as we have seen, the kingdoms of Macedon and Thrace to the crown of Syria, he was become master of three parts out of four of Alexander's dominions. All historians agree in representing him not only as the longest liver of Alexander's successors, but likewise as (5) the conqueror of the conquerors. Appian in particular (6) enumerates the nations which he subdued, and the cities which he built, and affirms that after Alexander he possessed the largest part of Asia; for

(3) —ad Ægyptum adjecerat Cyprum, Phœnicen, Cariam, aliasque insulas et regiones, ut hic ex antiquis commemorat Hieronymus. Grot. The words in Jerome are, *et multas insulas urbesque et regiones.*

(4) —terminos quoque imperii acquisita Cyrene urbe ampliaverat, factusque jam tantus

erat, ut non tam timeret quam timendus ipse hostibus esset. Justin. Lib. 13. Cap. 6.

(5) —victoremque victorum extitisse——Justin. Lib. 17. Cap. 2.

(6) Appian de Bell. Syr. p. 123. Edit. Steph. p. 197. Edit. Tollii. ὡς ὄντισαι τῶδε μάλιστα μίλα Ἀλεξάνδρου τῆς Ἀσίας το πλεον.

for all was subject to him from Phrygia up to the river Indus, and beyond it: and (7) afterwards he denominates him expressly ‘ the greatest king after Alexander.’

Seleucus Nicator, (8) having reigned seven months after the death of Lyfimachus, over the kingdoms of Macedon, Thrace, and Syria, was basely murdered; and to him succeeded in the throne of Syria his son Antiochus Soter, and to Antiochus Soter succeeded his son Antiochus Theus. At the same time Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned in Egypt after his father, the first Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. There were frequent wars between the kings of Egypt and Syria. There were so particularly between Ptolemy Philadelphus the second king of Egypt, and Antiochus Theus the third king of Syria. *And in the end of years they shall join themselves together; for the king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make an agreement:*
but

πλιον. απο γαρ Φρυγιας επι ποτα-
μον Ινδον ανω, παλια Σελευκω κα-
τηκει· και τον Ινδον περασας, κ. τ. λ.
quo excepto [Alexandro] nemo
unquam plures terras in Asia
tenuit: nam a Phrygiæ terminis
Indum usque mediterranea Se-
leuco parebant omnia: et hoc
quoque trajecto, &c. Vide
etiam p. 201. Edit. Tollii.

(7)—βασιλεα των επι Αλεξαν-
δρω μεγιστοι—regem post Alex-
andrum maximum. p. 128. Edit.
Steph. p. 207. Edit. Tollii.

(8) Quippe post menses ad-
modum septem, &c. Justin. Lib.
17. Cap. 2. Sect. 4. p. 351.
Edit. Grævii. Appian de Bell.
Syr.

(9) Iste

but she shall not retain the power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm; but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times. (ver. 6.) And in the end of years, that is after several years; for these wars lasted long, as (9) Jeromē reports out of the ancients, and Antiochus Theus fought against Ptolemy Philadelphus with all the forces of Babylon and the east. They shall join themselves together, or shall associate themselves: At length they agreed to make peace upon condition, that (1) Antiochus Theus should put away his former wife Laodice and her two sons, and should marry Berenice the daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus. For the king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make rights or an agreement: and accordingly (2) Ptolemy Philadelphus brought his daughter to Antiochus Theus, and with her an immense treasure, so that he received the appellation of
the

(9) *Iste adversus Ptolemæum Philadelphum, qui secundus imperabat Ægyptiis, gessit bella quam plurima: et totis Babylonis atque orientis viribus dimicavit. Hieron. Comment. in locum. Col. 1123. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.*

(1) *Volens itaque Ptolemæus Philadelphus post multos annos molestum finire certamen, filiam suam nomine Berenicen, Antio-*

cho uxorem dedit; qui de priore uxore nomine Laodice, habebat duos filios, &c. Hieron. ibid.

(2) *Deduxitque eam usque Pelusium; et infinita auri et argenti millia, dotis nomine dedit: Unde *φιστροφορος*, id est *dotalis* appellatus est. Hieron. ibid.*

(3) — *post multum temporis amore superatus, Laodicen cum liberis*

the dowry-giver. But she shall not retain the power of the arm, that is her interest and power with Antiochus; for (3) after some time, in a fit of love, he brought back his former wife Laodice with her children to court again. Neither shall he stand, nor his arm, or his seed; for (4) Laodice fearing the fickle temper of her husband, lest he should recall Berenice, caused him to be poisoned; and neither did his seed by Berenice succeed him in the kingdom, but Laodice contrived and managed matters so, as to fix her elder son Seleucus Callinicus on the throne of his ancestors. But she shall be given up; for Laodice not content with poisoning her husband, (5) caused also Berenice to be murdered. And they that brought her; for her (6) Egyptian women and attendants, endeavoring to defend her, were many of them slain with her. And he that begat her, or rather as it is in the margin, he whom she brought forth; for (7) the son

liberis suis reduxit in regiam.
Hieron. *ibid.*

(4) Quæ metuens ambiguum viri animum ne Berenicen reduceret, virum per ministros veneno interfecit, &c. Hieron. *ibid.* Appian de Bell. Syr. p. 130. Edit. Steph. p. 211. Edit. Tollii. Valer. Maximus, Lib. 9. Cap. 14. Plin. Lib. 7. Sect. 10. Edit. Harduini.

(5) Hieron. *ibid.* Appian

ibid. Polyæni Strat. Lib. 8. Cap. 50.

(6) Hieron. *ibid.* αἱ δὲ αὐτὴν γυναῖκες ὑπερασπίζουσαι προσάπεθαν αἱ πλείονες. Quæ vero circa eam erant mulieres defensionem parantes, plurimæ ceciderunt. Polyænus *ibid.* p. 801 Edit. Maafvicii.

(7) Hieron. *ibid.* Appian. *ibid.* Polyæn. *ibid.* Justin. Lib. 27. Cap. 1.

(8) Rex

son was murdered as well as the mother, by order of Laodice. *And he that strengthened her in these times*; her husband Antiochus, as (8) Jerome conceives; or those who took her part and defended her; or rather her father who died a little before, and was so very fond of her, (9) that he took care continually to send her fresh supplies of the water of the Nile, thinking it better for her to drink of that than of any other river, as Polybius relates.

But such wickedness should not pass unpunished and unrevenged. *But out of a branch of her root shall one stand up in his estate*, or rather as it is translated (1) in the Vulgar Latin, *out of a branch of her root shall stand up a plant; and he shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortress or the fenced cities of the king of the north, and shall deal, shall act against them, and shall*

(8) Rex quoque Antiochus qui confortabat eam, hoc est, per quem poterat prævalere, veneno uxoris occisus est. Hieron. *ibid.*

(9) Καὶ ὁ τῆς Αἰγυπτῆ δι βασιλεὺς διουκερὸς, ὁ φιλαδέλφος ἐπικλητὴς, ἐκδὼς τῆς αὐτῆς θυγατρὸς Βερενικῆς Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ Συρίας βασιλεῖ, ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ εἶχε πεμπεῖν αὐτῇ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου ὕδωρ, ἵνα μόνῃ τῇ τῷ ποταμῷ ἢ παῖς πίνη, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Πολυβίος. Ptolemæus secundus Ægypti rex, cognomine

Philadelphus, cum filiam Berenicen Antiocho regi Syriæ nuptum dedisset, mittendam ad ipsam Nili aquam sedulo curavit, ut eam solam gnata biberet, quod Polybius scripsit. Athenæus Lib. 2. p. 45. Edit. Casaubon.

(1) Et stabit de germine radicum ejus plantatio. Vulg.

(2) Deos eorum et sculptilia. Vulg. τῆς θεῶν αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν χωνευτῶν αὐτῶν. Sept. deos eorum.

shall prevail: And shall also carry captives into Egypt, their gods with their princes, or rather (2) their gods with their molten images, and with their precious vessels of silver and of gold, and he shall continue more years than the king of the north, or more literally he shall continue some years after the king of the north. So the king of the south shall come into his kingdom, and shall return into his own land, (ver. 7, 8, 9.) This branch, which sprung out of the same root with Berenice, was Ptolemy Euergetes her brother, who no sooner succeeded his father Ptolemy Philadelphus in the kingdom, than (3) he came with a great army, and entered into the provinces of the king of the north, that is of Seleucus Callinicus, who with his mother Laodice reigned in Syria: and he acted against them, and prevailed so far, that he took Syria and Cilicia, and the upper parts beyond

eorum cum fusilibus eorum. Arab.

(3) — de plantatione et de germine radicis ejus, eo quod esset germanus: et venit cum exercitu magno, et ingressus est provinciam regis aquilonis, id est Seleuci cognomento Callinici, qui cum matre Laodice regnabat in Syria: et abusus est eis; et obtinuit, in tantum ut Syriam caperet, et Ciliciam, superioresque partes trans Euphraten, et propemodum uni-

versam Asiam. Quumque audisset in Ægypto seditionem moveri, diripiens regnum Seleuci, quadraginta millia talentorum argenti tulit, et vasa pretiosa simulacraque deorum, duo millia quingenta: in quibus erant, et illa quæ Cambyfes capta Ægypto, in Persas portaverat. Denique gens Ægyptiorum idololatriæ dedita, quia post multos annos deos eorum retulerat, *Euergeten* eum appellavit. Hieron. *ibid.*

beyond Euphrates, and almost all Asia. And when he had heard that a sedition was raised in Egypt, he plundered the kingdom of Seleucus, and took forty thousand talents of *silver*, and *precious vessels*, and *images of the gods*, two thousand and five hundred: among which were also those, which Cambyfes, after he had taken Egypt, had carried into Persia. And for thus restoring their gods after many years, the Egyptians, who were a nation much addicted to idolatry, complimented him with the title of *Euergetes* or *the benefactor*. This is Jerome's account, extracted from ancient historians: but there are authors still extant, who confirm several of the same particulars. Appian informs us, that (4) Laodice having killed Antiochus, and after him both Berenice and her child, Ptolemy the son of Philadelphus to revenge these murders invaded Syria, slew Laodice, and proceeded as far as to Babylon. From Polybius we learn, that

(4) Και αυτον εκτεινε Λαοδικην, και επ' εκεινον Βερενικην τε και το Βερενικης βρεφος. και Πτολεμαιος ο υιου Φιλαδελφου ταυτα τινυμενος, Λαοδικην τε εκτεινε, και ες Συριαν ανεβαλε, και ες Βαβυλωνια ελασε. Laodice ipsum interfecit, et mox Berenicem cum infantulo. Eam injuriam Ptolemæus Philadelphii filius, ut ulcisceretur, de Laodice sumpsit supplicium, et ingressus Syriam, Babylonem

usque pervenit. Appian de Bell. Syr. p. 130. Edit. Steph. p. 211. Edit. Tollii.

(5) Συνεβαινε γαρ Σελευκειαν ετι τοτε κατεχεσθαι φεμραις υπο των εξ Αιγυπτου βασιλεων, εκ των κατα τον Ευεργετην επικληθετα Πτολεμαιων καιρων, εν οϊς εκεινος δια τα Βερενικης συμπλωματα, και την υπερ εκεινης οργην, εργαυσας εις της κατα Συριαν τοπας, εγκρατης σγχετο ταυτης της πολιως. Adhuc illa

that (5) Ptolemy surnamed Euergetes, being greatly incensed at the cruel treatment of his sister Berenice, marched with an army into Syria, and took the city of Seleucia, which was kept for some years afterwards by the garrisons of the kings of Egypt. Polyænus affirms, that (6) Ptolemy made himself master of all the country from mount Taurus as far as to India without war or battle: but he ascribes it by mistake to the father instead of the son. Justin asserts, that (7) if Ptolemy had not been recalled by a domestic sedition into Egypt, he would have possessed the whole kingdom of Seleucus. *So the king of the south came into the kingdom of the north, and then returned into his own land.* He likewise continued more years than the king of the north; for Seleucus Callinicus (8) died in exile of a fall from his horse, and Ptolemy Euergetes (9) survived him about four or five years.

But

illa tempestate regum Ægypti præfidiis tenebatur Seleucia, jam inde ab illis temporibus, cum Ptolemæus cognomento Euergeta, propter calum Berenice Seleuco regi iratus bello Syriæ illato, ea urbe est potitus. Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 402, 403. Edit. Casaubon.

(6) ἀπο τοῦ Ταύρου μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδίας χωρὶς πολέμου καὶ μάχης ἡρατήσιν. a Tauro usque ad In-

diam absque bello ac pugna superavit. Polyæni Strat. Lib. 8. Cap. 50. p. 802. Edit. Masvicii.

(7) Qui nisi in Ægyptum domestica seditione revocatus esset, totum regnum Seleuci occupasset. Justin. Lib. 27. Cap. 1.

(8) Justin. Lib. 27. Cap. 3.

(9) See Usher, Prideaux, Blair, and other chronologers.

(1) Post

But his sons, that is the sons of the king of the north, should endeavor to vindicate and avenge the cause of their father and their country. *But his sons shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces; and one shall certainly come, and overflow, and pass through; then shall he return, and be stirred up even to his fortress.* (ver. 10.) The sons of Seleucus Callinicus were (1) Seleucus and Antiochus; the elder of whom, Seleucus, succeeded him in the throne, and to distinguish him from others of the same name, was denominated *Ceraunus* or *the thunderer*. Where by the way one cannot help observing the ridiculous vanity of princes in assuming or receiving such pompous appellations without deserving them. Seleucus the father was surnamed *Callinicus* or *the famous conqueror*, though he was so far from gaining any considerable victory, that he was shamefully beaten by the Egyptians in the west, and was made a prisoner by the Parthians in the east. In like manner Seleucus the son was called *Ceraunus* or *the thunderer*, though he was

(1) Post fugam & mortem Seleuci Callinici, duo filii ejus Seleucus cognomento Ceraunus, et Antiochus qui appellatus est Magnus, &c. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1124. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict. Polyb. Lib. 4. p. 315. Edit. Casaubon. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 131. Edit. Steph.

p. 211. Edit. Tollii.

(2) Σελευῆς μὲν δὲ, αὐθαὶ τὴ οὐτὴ καὶ πειραμένη, καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ γράτου ἔχοντι, ἐπιβουλευσάν οἱ φίλοι διὰ φαρμάκων, καὶ ἐς οὗτὴν δύο μὲν ἐβασίλευσαν. Seleucus nec valetudine firmus nec opibus, exercitum in officio continere non potuit, veneno sublatus

was so far from performing any thing worthy of the name, that he was a poor and weak prince in all respects in mind and body and estate. Great and splendid titles, when improperly applied, are rather a satire and insult upon the persons, than any honor or commendation. Seleucus Ceraunus was indeed *stirred up, and assembled a multitude of great forces*, in order to recover his father's dominions: but (2) being destitute of money, and unable to keep his army in obedience, he was poisoned by two of his generals, after an inglorious reign of two or three years. Upon his decease his brother Antiochus Magnus, was proclaimed king, who was more deserving of the title of *great*, than Seleucus was of that of *the thunderer*. The prophet's expression is very (3) remarkable, that *his sons should be stirred up, and assemble a multitude of great forces*; but then the number is changed, and only *one* should certainly come, and overflow, and pass through. Accordingly (4) Antiochus came with a great army, retook Seleucia, and
by

latus purpuratorum perfidia, post exactum regni annum alterum. Appian. *ibid.* Quumque Seleucus major frater, tertio anno imperii esset occisus in Phrygia, per dolum Nicanoris et Apaturii, &c. Hieron. *ibid.* Polyb. *ibid.*

quod duo quidem filii provocati sunt, et congregaverunt multitudinem exercituum plurimorum: sed quod unus Antiochus Magnus venerit de Babylone in Syriam, &c. Hieron. *ibid.*

(4) Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 403, &c. Hieron. *ibid.*

(3) Et propterea nunc infert,

H 4

(5) Polyb.

by the means of Theodotus the Ætolian recovered Syria, making himself master of some places by treaty, and of others by force of arms. Then (5) after a truce, wherein both sides treated of peace, but prepared for war, Antiochus *returned*, and overcame in battle Nicolaus the Egyptian general, and had thoughts of invading Egypt itself.

The king of Egypt at that time was Ptolemy Philopator, who was (6) advanced to the crown upon the death of his father Euergetes, not long after Antiochus Magnus succeeded his brother in the throne of Syria. This Ptolemy was (7) a most luxurious and vicious prince, but was roused at length by the near approach of danger. *And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the north: and he shall set forth a great multitude, but the multitude shall*

(5) Polyb. *ibid.* p. 411, &c. Quumque pugnasset adversum duces ejus, imò proditiōe Theodoti obtinisset Syriam, quæ per successionem jam a regibus Ægypti tenebatur, in tantam venit audaciam contenta luxuria Philopatoris—ut ultrò Ægyptiis bellum conaretur inferre. Hieron. *ibid.* Antiochus rex Syriæ, veteri inter se regnorum odio stimulante, repentino bello multas urbes

ejus [Ptolemæi] oppressit, ipsamque Ægyptum aggreditur. Justin. Lib. 30. Cap. 1.

(6) Ptolemæus in Can. Eusebii in Chron. Usher, Prideaux, and the Chronologers.

(7) Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 380, &c. Edit. Casaubon. Strabo, Lib. 17. p. 796. Edit. Paris. 1620. p. 1146. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Plutarch. in Cleomene, p. 820. Edit. Paris. 1624. Justin. Lib. 30. Cap. 1.

(8) Polyb.

shall be given into his hand. (ver. 11.) Ptolemy Philopator was, no doubt, *moved with choler* for the losses which he had sustained, and for the revolt of Theodotus and others. And he *came forth*; he (8) marched out of Egypt with a numerous army to oppose the enemy, and incamped not far from Raphia, which is the nearest town to Egypt after Rhonocorura. And there he *fought with him, even with the king of the north*; for thither likewise (9) came Antiochus with his army, and a memorable battle was fought by the two kings. *And he*, the king of the north, *set forth a great multitude*; Polybius hath (1) recited the various nations of which Antiochus's army was composed, and all together it amounted to sixty-two thousand foot, six thousand horse, and 102 elephants. But yet *the multitude was given into his hand*, that is into the hand of the king of the south; for (2) Ptolemy obtained a complete

(8) Polyb. *ibid* p. 421, 422. Hieron. *ibid*.

(9) Polyb. *ibid*. p. 423, &c. Strabo, Lib. 16. p. 759. Edit. Paris. 1620. p. 1102. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Hieron. *ibid*.

(1) Polyb. *ibid*. 421, 422. Και της μεν Αντιόχου δυναμεις το πληθος ην, πεζοι μεν εξακισμυριοι και διαχιλιοι, συν δε τελοισι ιππεις εξακισχιλιοι, θηρια δε δυσι πλειων των εκατον. Summa totius exercitus Antiochi; peditum

duo et septuaginta [sexaginta] millia; equitum sex; elephantum duo supra centum.

(2) ησαν δε οι τετραλειπκοις των παρ' Αντιόχου, πεζοι μεν ου πολυ λειποκοις μυριων, ιππεις δε πλειους τριακοσιων. ζωγηνια δε εαλωσαν υπερ της τριακισχιλιος. — των δε παρα Πτολεμαϊου, πεζοι μεν εις χιλιας και πεντακοσιος ηλελυθησαν, ιππεις δε εις επτακοσιος. Desideravit autem e suis Antiochus non multo pauciores decem millibus

a complete victory : and of Antiochus's army there were slain not much fewer than ten thousand foot, more than three hundred horse, and above four thousand men were taken prisoners; whereas of Ptolemy's there were killed only fifteen hundred foot, and seven hundred horse. Upon this defeat (3) Raphia and the neighbouring towns contended who should be most forward to submit to the conqueror; and Antiochus was forced to retreat with his shattered army to Antioch, and from thence sent ambassadors to solicit a peace.

Ptolemy Philopator was more fortunate in gaining a victory, than prudent in knowing how to make a proper advantage of it. *And when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up, and he shall cast down many ten thousands; but he shall not be strengthened by it.* (ver. 12.) If Ptolemy had pursued the blow that he had given, it is (4) reasonably presumed that he might have deprived Antiochus of his kingdom : but *his heart*

millibus peditum : equites trecentos et eo plures : capti sunt vivi supra quattuor millia. — E Ptolemaicis occisi sunt pedites mille et quingenti : equites septingenti. Polyb. ibid. p. 427. Inito ergo certamine juxta oppidum Raphia, quod in foribus Ægypti est, omnem Antiochus

amisit exercitum ; &c. Hieron. ibid.

(3) Polyb. ibid. p. 427, 428. Quumque cessisset Syria, ad extremum fœdere, et quibusdam conditionibus pugna finita est. Hieron. ibid.

(4) Justin. Lib. 30. Cap. 1. — spoliassetque regno Antiochum

heart was lifted up by his success; being delivered from his fears, he now more freely indulged his lusts; and after a few menaces and complaints he granted peace to Antiochus, that he might be no more interrupted in the gratification of his appetites and passions. He had before (5) murdered his father, and his mother, and his brother; and now (6) he killed his wife, who was also his sister; and (7) gave himself up entirely to the management of Agathoclea his harlot, and her brother Agathocles who was his catamite, and their mother Oenanthe who was his bawd. And (8) so forgetful of all the greatness of his name and majesty, he consumed his days in feasting, and his nights in lewdness; and became not only the spectator, but the master and leader of all wickedness. And what availed it to have conquered his enemies, when he was thus overcome by his vices? He was so far from being *strengthened* by it, that even (9) his own subjects, offended at his inglorious peace, and

chum, si fortunam virtute ju-
visset. Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 428.
Edit. Casaubon.

(5) Justin. Lib. 29. Cap. 1.
Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 380, 382.

(6) Justin. Lib. 30. Cap. 1.
Polyb. Lib. 15. p. 719.

(7) Plutarch in Cleomene,
p. 820. Edit. Paris. 1624. Polyb.

Lib. 15. passim. Justin. Lib. 30.
Cap. 1 & 2.

(8) Atque ita omnem magni-
tudinem nominis ac majestatis
oblitus, noctes in stupris, dies
in conviviis consumit—nec jam
spectator rex, sed magister ne-
quitiae. Justin. ibid. Cap. 1.

(9) Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 444.

(1) For

and more inglorious life, rebelled against him. But the prophet in this passage alluded more particularly to the case of his own countrymen. After the retreat of Antiochus, Ptolemy (1) visited the cities of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, which had submitted to him; and among others in his progress he came to Jerusalem. He there offered sacrifices, and was desirous of entering into the holy of holies, contrary to the custom and religion of the place, being (as the (2) writer of the third book of Maccabees says) greatly lifted up by pride and confidence. His curiosity was restrained with great difficulty, and he departed with heavy displeasure against the whole nation of the Jews. At his return therefore to Alexandria, he began a cruel persecution upon the Jewish inhabitants of that city, who had resided there from the time of Alexander, and enjoyed the privileges of the most favored citizens. *And he cast down many ten thousands*; for it appears from (3) Eusebius, that about this time forty thousand Jews were slain, or sixty thousand as they are reckoned in Jerome's Latin interpretation. No king could be
strengthened

(1) For these particulars the 3d book of Maccabees must be consulted.

(2) ὑβρεῖ καὶ θρασεί μεγάλως ἐπηρεμένον. 3 Macc. II. 21.

(3) Ἰουδαῖοι λεηθνεῖς, τίσσασα κκοκτα χιλιάδας ὀπλίῳν ἀποβαλομένοι. Eusebii Chron. p. 185. Victi Judæi: et LX millia armorum ex numero eorum cæsa. Interprete

strengthened by the loss of such a number of useful subjects. The loss of so many Jews, and the rebellion of the Egyptians, added to the male-administration of the state, must certainly very much weaken, and almost totally ruin the kingdom.

Peace was to continue between the two crowns of Egypt and Syria for some years, and then the king of the north should attempt another invasion. *For the king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come, after certain years, (at the end of times, that is years) with a great army, and with much riches.* (ver. 13.) The following events, you see, were not to take place till *after certain years*; and the peace continued between the two crowns (4) about fourteen years. In that time Ptolemy Philopator (5) died of intemperance and debauchery, and was succeeded by his son Ptolemy Epiphanes, a child of four or five years old. Antiochus too, (6) having taken and slain the rebel Achæus, and having (7) also reduced and settled the eastern parts in their obedience, was at leisure to prosecute

Interprete Hieron. p. 143.

(4) See Usher, Prideaux, and the Chronologers.

(5) Ptolem. in Canone, Eusebius, Justin. Lib. 30. Cap. 2. Hieron. &c.

(6) Polyb. Lib. 8. p. 522, &c. Edit. Casaubon.

(7) Polyb. Lib. 10 & 11. Appian. de Bell. Syr. in principio.

(8) Kas

prosecute any enterprize, and could not let slip so favorable an opportunity of extending his dominions. He had acquired great riches, and collected many forces in his eastern expedition; so that he was enabled to *set forth a greater multitude than the former*, and he doubted not to have an *easy* victory over an infant king. Polybius expressly informs us, that (8) from the king of Bactria and from the king of India he received so many elephants as made up his number 150, besides provisions and riches. Jerome out of ancient authors affirms, that (9) he gathered together an incredible army out of the countries beyond Babylon; and contrary to the league he marched with this army, Ptolemy Philopator being dead, against his son, who was then four years old, and was called Ptolemy Epiphanes, or the illustrious. Justin also says, that (1) Ptolemy Philopator king of Egypt being dead, in contempt of the childhood of his son, who being left heir to the kingdom

was

(8) Καὶ λαβὼν ελεφαντας, ὥς γενισθαι τὴν ἀπαλῆς εἰς ἑκατὸν καὶ πενήκοντα. κ. τ. λ. ibi quoque elephantos alios accepit, ut jam centum quinquaginta bestias haberet, &c. Polyb. Lib. 11. p. 652.

(9) —incredibilem de superioribus locis Babylonis exercitum congregavit. Et Ptolemæo Philopatore mortuo adversum

filium ejus, qui tunc quattuor annorum erat, et vocabatur Ptolemæus Επιφανης, rupto fœdere movit exercitum. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1124.

(1) Mortuo Ptolemæo Philopatore rege Ægypti, contemptâque parvuli filii ejus ætate, qui in spem regni relictus prædæ etiam domesticis erat, Antiochus

was a prey even to his domestics, Antiochus king of Syria resolved to take possession of Egypt; as if the thing were as easily executed, as resolved.

But Antiochus was not the only one who rose up against young Ptolemy. Others also confederated with him. *And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south: also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision, but they shall fall.* (ver. 14.) Agathocles (2) was in possession of the young king's person; and he was so dissolute and proud in the exercise of his power, that the provinces which before were subject to Egypt rebelled, and Egypt itself was disturbed by seditions; and the people of Alexandria rose up in a body against Agathocles, and caused him, and his sister, and mother, and their associates, to be put to death. Philip too (3) the king of Macedon enter'd into a league with Antiochus, to divide Ptolemy's dominions between them, and each

chus rex Syriæ occupare Ægyptum statuit. Justin. Lib. 31. Cap. 1.

(2) Polyb. Lib. 15, p. 712. &c. Edit. Casaubon. Tantæ enim dissolutionis et superbiæ Agathocles fuit, ut subditæ prius Ægypto provinciæ rebellarent; ipsaque Ægyptus seditionibus vexaretur. Hieron. ibid. Justin. Lib. 30. Cap. 2.

(3) Philippus quoque rex Macedonum, et magnus Antiochus pace facta, adversum Agathoclen et Ptolemæum Epiphanem dimicarent, sub hac conditione, ut proximas civitates regno suo singuli de regno Ptolemæi jungerent. Hieron. ibid. Polyb. Lib. 3. p. 159. Lib. 15. p. 707. Justin. ibid.

(4) Et

each to take the parts which lay nearest and most convenient to him. And this is the meaning, as (4) Jerome concludes, of the prophet's saying, that many shall rise up together against the king of the south. *Also the robbers of thy people.* It is literally (5) *the sons of the breakers*, the sons of the revolters, the factious and refractory ones, *of thy people*; for the Jews were at that time *broken* into factions, part adhering to the king of Egypt, and part to the king of Syria; but the majority were for *breaking away* from their allegiance to Ptolemy. In the Vulgate it is (6) translated, *the sons also of the prevaricators of thy people*; in the Septuagint, *the sons of the pestilent ones of thy people*. What shall they do? *shall exalt themselves to establish the vision*; shall revolt from Ptolemy, and thereby shall contribute greatly, without their knowing it, towards the accomplishment of this prophecy concerning the calamities, which should be brought upon the Jewish nation by the succeeding kings of Syria. That the Jews revolted from Ptolemy is evident from what Jerome affirms, that (7) the provinces which

(4) Et hoc est quod nunc dicit multos consurgere adversus regem Austri, Ptolemæum scilicet Epiphanem, qui erat ætate puerili. Hieron. ibid.

(5) וְבָנֵי פֶרִיעִי עִמָּךְ. Vide 1 Sam. XXV. 10.

(6) Filii quoque prævaricatorum populi tui. Vulg. οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν λοιμῶν τοῦ λαοῦ σου. Sept.

(7) —ut subditæ prius Ægypto provinciæ rebellarent. Hieron. ibid.

(8) Polyb.

which before were subject to Egypt rebelled: and (8) heathen authors intimate, that Antiochus took possession of the cities of Cœle-Syria and Palestine without any opposition, at least they do not mention any. *But they shall fall*; for (9) Scopas came with a powerful army from Ptolemy, and Antiochus being engaged in other parts, soon reduced the cities of Cœle-Syria and Palestine to their former obedience. He subdued the Jews in the winter season, placed a garrison in the castle of Jerusalem, and returned with great spoils to Alexandria; for he was (1) noted above all men for his avarice and rapacity. The expression of Josephus is remarkable, that (2) the Jews submitted to Scopas by force, but to Antiochus they submitted willingly.

It was in the absence of Antiochus, that these advantages were obtained by the arms of Egypt, but his presence soon turned the scale, and changed the whole face of affairs. *So the king of the north shall come, and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities, or the city of munitions, and the arms of the south shall not withstand, neither*

(8) Polyb. Lib. 3. p. 159. Appian de Bell. Syr. in principio.

(9) Hieron. Col. 1125. Polyb. apud Joseph. & Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 3. Sect. 3. p. 520, 521. Edit. Hudson.

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(1) Polyb. Lib. 17. p. 773.

(2) πολεμεσμενον γαρ αυτω προσεδωκε, oppugnata enim, in ejus partes conceffit. *ινεσιως αυτω προσεδωκε Ιουδαια.* Judæi ultro deditionem fecerunt. Joseph. ibid.

I

(3) Antiochus

ther his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand. But he that cometh against him, shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him: and he shall stand in the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed. (ver. 15 and 16.) Antiochus (3) being willing to recover Judea, and the cities of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, which Scopas had taken, came again into those parts. Scopas was sent again to oppose him, and Antiochus fought with him near the sources of the river Jordan, destroyed a great part of his army, and pursued him to Sidon, where he shut him up with ten thousand men, and closely besieged him. Three famous generals were sent from Egypt to raise the siege; but they were defeated of their purpose, and Scopas was forced by famine to surrender upon the hard conditions of having life only granted to him and his men; they were obliged to lay down their arms, and were sent away stript and naked. This event, I conceive, was principally intended by his *casting up a mount, and taking the city of munitions*; for Sidon was an exceeding strong city

(3) Antiochus enim volens Judæam recuperare, et Syriæ urbes plurimas, Scopam ducem Ptolemæi juxta fontes Jordanis, ubi nunc Paneas condita est, inito certamine fugavit, et cum	decem millibus armatorum obsedit clausum in Sidone. Ob quem liberandum misit Ptolemæus duces inclytos Eropum, et Menoclem, et Damoxenum. Sed obsidionem solvere non potuit:
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city in its situation and fortifications. But if we take the phrase more generally, as our translators understand it, Antiochus, after the success of this battle and of this siege, reduced other countries and took other *fenced cities*, which are mentioned by (4) Polybius, and recited by Jerome out of the Greek and Roman historians. *The arms of the south could not withstand him, neither his chosen people, neither Scopas, nor the other great generals, nor the choicest troops who were sent against him: but he did according to his own will, and none was able to stand before him; for he soon (5) rendered himself master of all Cœle-Syria and Palestine. Among others (6) the Jews also readily submitted to him, went forth in solemn procession to meet him, received him splendidly into their city, supplied him with plenty of provisions for all his army and elephants, and assisted him in besieging the garrison, which Scopas had left in the citadel. Thus he stood in the glorious land, and his power was established in Judea. Which by his hand shall be consumed:* So this passage

tuit: donec fame superatus
Scopas manus dedit, et nudus
cum sociis dimissus est. Hieron.
ibid. Joseph. ibid. Valesii Ex-
cerpta ex Polyb. p. 77, &c.

(4) Polyb. apud Joseph. ibid.

Hieron. ibid.

(5) Liv. Lib. 33. Cap. 19.
Justin. Lib. 31. Cap. 1. Polyb.
Legat. 72. p. 893.

(6) Josephus, ibid.

sage is generally understood, and translated, and commentators hereupon observe that (7) Josephus relates, that ' Antiochus the great ' reigning in Asia, the Jews, their country being ' wasted, suffered many things, as well as the ' inhabitants of Cœle-Syria. For Antiochus ' warring against Ptolemy Philopator, and ' against his son Ptolemy Epiphanes, it was ' their fate to suffer, whether he was conqueror, ' or was beaten, so that they were like a ship ' tost in a tempest, and lying between both ' were sure to suffer, which ever side prevailed.' But then they could not be said to be *consumed by the hand of Antiochus* particularly; they were consumed as much or more by Scopas: and the word is capable of another interpretation, which agrees as well with the truth of the Hebrew, and better with the truth of history. It may be translated, *Which shall be perfected, or prosper, or flourish, in his hand.* The original will well admit of this sense, and the event

con-

(7) Τῆς γὰρ Ἰουδαίας, ἐπ' Ἀντίοχου
τῆς Μεγάλης βασιλευσίνος τῆς Ἀσίας,
ἐβύχεν αὐτῆς τε πολλὰ ταλαιπώ-
ρησαι τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν κακωμένης,
καὶ τῆς τὴν Κοίλην Συρίαν νεμομένης.
πολεμῆντος γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς τοῦ
Εὐπάτορα Πτολεμαίου, καὶ πρὸς
τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς Πτολεμαίου, τὸν κλη-
θεὶν Ἐπιφάνην, κακοπαθεῖν συνι-
βαίνεν αὐτοῖς καὶ νικῶντος, καὶ
πλειόντος ταῦτα πάσχειν. ὥς· ἔδει

ἀπελείπον χειμαζομένης νεώς, καὶ
πονημένης ἐκαίετοθεν ὑπὸ τῆς κλυδῶ-
νος, μέλας τῆς εὐπραγίας τῆς
Ἀντίοχου, καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ Σάββον
αὐτῆς τροπῆς τῶν πραγμάτων κείμε-
νοι. Regnante in Asia Antiocho
Magno, accidit ut tum Judæi
terra eorum vastata, tum qui
CælenSyriam incolebant, multa
adversa paterentur. Eo enim
belligerante adversus Ptolemæ-
um

confirms it. For Antiochus, to reward and encourage the Jews in their fidelity and obedience to him, (8) gave order that their city should be repaired, and the dispersed Jews should return and inhabit it; that they should be supplied with cattle and other provisions for sacrifices; that they should be furnished with timber and other materials for finishing and adorning the temple; that they should live all according to the laws of their country; that the priests and elders, the scribes and levites should be exempted from the capitation and other taxes; that those who then inhabited the city, or should return to it within a limited term, should be free from all tribute for three years, and the third part of their tribute should be remitted to them for ever after; and also that as many as had been taken and forced into servitude, should be released, and their substance and goods be restored to them. Where Grotius remarks, (9) that what is said about *finishing* and *completing* the temple, answers

um Eupatorem [Alibi constanter *Philopatorem* eum vocat] et ejus filium cognomine Epiphanem, contigit illis, ut si is superior fuerit, affligerentur, si inferior, plane eadem paterentur: adeo ut haud dissimilis essent navi in tempestate, fluctibus utrinque vexatae, ut qui in medio jacerent, dum et Antiocho res prospere cederent et

in contrarias partes mutarentur. Joseph. ibid.

(8) Vide Epist. Antiochi apud Joseph. ibid.

(9) Ubi ἀπαρτίσθηναι est quod hic הִלְכִּי quod alibi per σὺνελειν (consummare) alibi per τελεειν (finire) aut πληρυν (implere) vertunt LXX. Grot. in locum.

answers exactly to the word *perfected* or *consummated* in the Hebrew. Thus also (1) the Seventy translate it, and thus (2) Theodoret explains it; ‘*And it shall be perfected by his hand,*’ that is it shall prosper; for so likewise Josephus hath taught us in his history, that the Jews of their own accord having received Antiochus, were greatly honored by him.’

Antiochus the great, like other ambitious princes, the more he attained, aspired the more to conquest and dominion. *He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him: thus shall he do, and he shall give him the daughter of women corrupting her, or to corrupt her: but she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him.* (ver. 17.) *He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, or rather He shall also set his face to enter by force the whole kingdom:* and Antiochus not contented with having rent the principal provinces from Egypt, was forming schemes

(1) Καὶ τελειοθήσεται ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ. Sept.

(2) Καὶ συντελειοθήσεται ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ. Τέλειον εὐδομήσεται. ἔγω γὰρ ἡμᾶς καὶ ὁ Ἰωσήπος διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐδίδαξεν ὅτι αὐτομάτως τὸν Ἀντίοχον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι δεξάμενοι σφοδρὰ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐβίβηθησαν. Hoc est, prospere ei succedet. Sic enim nos item Josephus docuit

in historia, Judæos Antiocho ultro accepto, magno in honore ab illo habitos fuisse. Theod. in locum. Vol. 2. p. 681. Edit. Sirmondi.

(3) Κατὰ σπέδην ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἀπῆλθι, ὡς Αἰγυπτίον ἐρημον ἀρχόντος ἀρπασομένος. properavit in Ægyptum, ut occuparet orbam principem. Appian de Bell. Syr.

schemes (3) to seize upon the whole kingdom. *And upright ones with him; thus shall he do:* If this translation be right, *the upright ones* here intended are the Jews, who marched under the banners of Antiochus, and are so denominated to distinguish them from the other idolatrous soldiers. But the (4) Seventy and the Vulgar Latin exhibit a much more probable translation, that *he shall set things right, or make agreement with him*, as the phrase is used before. (ver. 6.) Antiochus would have seized upon the kingdom of Egypt by force: but as he was (5) meditating a war with the Romans, he judged it better to proceed by stratagem, and to carry on his designs by treaty rather than by arms. For this purpose *he shall give him the daughter of women*, his daughter so called as being one of the most eminent and beautiful of women: and accordingly (6) Antiochus proposed a treaty of marriage by Eucles the Rhodian, betrothed his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy in the seventh year

Syr. p. 88. Edit. Steph. p. 144. Edit. Tollii. Antiochus rex Syriæ occupare Ægyptum statuit. Justin. Lib. 31. Cap. 1.

(4) Καὶ εὐδία πάντα μετ' αὐτῆς ποιήσει. Sept. Et recta faciet cum eo. Vulg.

(5) Appian. ibid. p. 145.

(6) — filiam suam Cleopatram per Euclem Rhodium, sep-

timo anno regni adolescentis, despondit Ptolemæo, et tertio decimo anno tradidit, data ei dotis nomine omni Cœle-Syria et Judæa. Hieron. in locum Col. 1126. Appian. ibid. Liv. Lib. 35. Cap. 13. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 4. Sect. 1. p. 523. Edit. Hudson.

year of his reign, and married her to him in the thirteenth. He conducted her himself to Raphia, where they were married; and gave in dowry with her the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, upon condition of the revenues being equally divided between the two kings. All this he transacted with a fraudulent intention, *to corrupt her*, and induce her to betray her husband's interests to her father. But his designs did not take effect; *she shall not stand on his part, neither be for him*. Ptolemy and his generals (7) were aware of his artifices, and therefore stood upon their guard: and Cleopatra herself affected more the cause of her husband than of her father; insomuch that (8) she joined with her husband in an embassy to the Romans to congratulate them upon their victories over her father, and to exhort them, after they had expelled him out of Greece, to prosecute the war in Asia, assuring them at the same time that the king and queen of Egypt would readily obey the commands of the senate.

Antiochus having, as he thought, secured
all

(7) Ptolemæus Epiphanes et duces ejus sentientes dolum, cautius se egerunt, et Cleopatra magis viri partes, quam parentis fovit. Hieron. ibid.

(8) Legati ab Ptolemæo et Cleopatra, regibus Ægypti, gratulantes quod Manius Aci-

lius consul Antiochum regem Græcia expulisset, venerunt: adhortantesque ut in Asiam exercitum traduceret — reges Ægypti ad ea, quæ censuisset senatus, paratos fore. Liv. Lib. 37. Cap. 3.

(9) Liv. Lib. 33. Cap. 19,

all things behind him, engaged in an unhappy war with the Romans. *After this shall he turn his face unto the iles, and shall take many : but a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach offered by him, to cease ; without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him.* (ver. 18.) Antiochus (9) fitted out a formidable fleet of one hundred large ships of war, and two hundred other lesser vessels. With this fleet *he turned his face unto the iles* of the Mediterranean ; subdued most of the maritim places on the coasts of Asia, Thrace, and Greece ; and *took* Samos, Eubœa, and *many* other ilands. This was a great indignity and *reproach offered* to the Romans, (1) when their confederates were thus oppressed, and the cities, which they had lately restored to liberty, were inflaved. *But a prince, or rather a leader, a general,* meaning the Roman generals, repelled the injury, and *caused his reproach to cease.* Acilius the consul (2) fought with Antiochus at the straits of Thermopylæ, routed him, and expelled him out of Greece :

20, 38, &c. Appian de Bell. Syr. p. 86, 89, 93, &c. Edit. Steph. p. 142, 145, 151, &c. Edit. Tollii. Hieron. ibid. Aurel. Victor de Viris Illust. Cap. 54. statimque Græciam insulasque ejus occupavit.

(1) Appian de Bell. Syr. p.

87, Edit. Steph. p. 143. Edit. Tollii. Liv. Lib. 33. Cap. 39. Lib. 34. Cap. 58. Polyb. Lib. 17. p. 769. Edit. Casaubon.

(2) Liv. Lib. 36 & 37. Appian de Bell. Syr. Florus Lib. 2. Cap. 8. Justin. Lib. 31. Cap. 6, 7, 8.

(3) Polyb.

Greece : Livius and Æmilius, beat his fleets at sea : and Scipio finally obtained a decisive victory over him in Asia near the city Magnesia at the foot of mount Sipylus. Antiochus lost fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse in that day's engagement ; fourteen hundred were taken prisoners, and he himself escaped with difficulty. Upon this defeat he (3) was necessitated to sue for peace, and was obliged to submit to very dishonourable conditions, not to set foot in Europe, and to quit all Asia on this side of mount Taurus, to defray the whole charges of the war, &c, and to give twenty hostages for the performance of these articles, one of whom was his younger son Antiochus, afterwards called Epiphanes. By these means (4) he and his successors became tributary to the Romans : so truly and effectually did they not only *cause the reproach offered by him to cease*, but greatly to their own honor *caused it to turn upon him*.

Antiochus did not long survive this disgrace ; and the latter end of his life and reign was as mean, as the former part had been glorious.

Then

(3) Polyb. Legat. 24. p. 816, 817. Liv. Lib. 37. Cap. 45. Appian de Bell. Syr. p. 111, &c. Edit. Steph. p. 178, &c. Edit. Tollii. Justin. ibid.

(4) 1 Macc. VIII. 7.

(5) Liv. Lib. 37. Cap. 44. Appian de Bell. Syr. p. 110. Edit. Steph. p. 177. Edit. Tollii.

(6) Polyb. Legat. 24. p. 817. Liv. Lib. 37. Cap. 45.

(7) Cicero pro Deiotaro. Cap.

Then shall he turn his face towards the fort of his own land: but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found. (ver. 19.) Antiochus after the battle (5) fled away that night to Sardes, and from thence to Apaméa, and the next day he came into Syria, to Antioch *the fort of his own land*. It was from thence that he sent embassadors to sue for peace; and (6) within a few days after peace was granted, he sent part of the money demanded, and the hostages to the Roman consul at Ephesus. He is (7) reported indeed to have borne his losses with great equanimity and temper, and said that he was much obliged to the Romans for easing him from a great deal of care and trouble, and for confining him within the bounds of a moderate empire. But whatever he might pretend, he lived in distress and poverty for a great king, being under the greatest difficulties how to raise the money which he had stipulated to pay to the Romans: and his necessity or his avarice prompted him at last to commit sacrilege. He (8) marched into the eastern provinces, to collect there the arrears of tribute,

Cap. 13. Valerius Maximus, Lib. 4. Cap. 1.

(8) Diodor. Sic. in Excerpt. Valesii. p. 292 & 298. Strabo, Lib. 16. p. 744. Edit. Paris. 1620. p. 1080. Edit. Amstel.

1707. Interea in Syria rex Antiochus, cum gravi tributo pacis, a Romanis victus, oneratus esset, seu inopia pecuniæ compulsus, seu avaritia sollicitatus, qua sperabat se, sub specie tributariae

tribute, and amass what treasure he could: and attempting to plunder the rich temple of Jupiter Belus in Elymaïs, he was assaulted by the inhabitants of the country, was defeated, and himself and all his attendants were slain. So Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Justin, and Jerome relate the manner and circumstances of his death. Aurelius Victor reports it otherwise, and affirms (9) that he was slain by some of his companions, whom in his liquor he had beaten at a banquet: but his account deserves not so much credit as the concurrent testimony of earlier historians. However it was, his death was inglorious, he *stumbled and fell, and was no more found.*

His successor was far from retrieving the splendor and glory of the nation. *Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom; or rather according to the original, and as we read in the margin, one that causeth an exactor to pass over the glory of the kingdom: but within few days he shall be destroyed, neither*

riæ necessitatis. excusatus sacri-legia commissurum, adhibito exercitu, nocte templum Elymaï Jovis aggreditur. Qua re prodita, concursu insularium, cum omni militia interficitur. Justin. Lib. 32. Cap. 2. Victus ergo Antiochus, intra Taurum regnare jussus est; et inde fugit

ad Apamiam, ac Susam, et ultimas regni sui penetravit urbes. Quumque adversum Elymaeos pugnaret, cum omni est deletus exercitu. Hieron. ibid.

(9) A sodalibus, quos temulentus in convivio pulsaverat, occisus est. Aurel. Victor de Viris Illustr. Cap. 54.

(1) Seleucum

neither in anger, nor in battle. (ver. 20.) Seleucus Philopator succeeded his father Antiochus the great in the throne of Syria: but as (1) Jerome affirms, he performed nothing worthy of the empire of Syria and of his father, and perished inglorious without fighting any battles. As Appian also testifies, he reigned (2) both idly and weakly, by reason of his father's calamity. He had an inclination to break the peace, and shake off the Roman yoke; but had not the courage to do it. He (3) raised an army with intent to march over mount Taurus to the assistance of Pharnaces king of Pontus: but his dread of the Romans confined him at home, within the bounds prescribed to him; and almost as soon as he had raised, he disbanded his army. The tribute of a thousand talents, which he was obliged to pay annually to the Romans, was indeed a grievous burden to him and his kingdom: and he was little more than *a raiser of taxes* all his days. He was tempted even to commit

(1) Seleucum dicit cognomento Philopatorem filium magni Antiochi, qui nihil dignum Syriæ, et patris gessit imperio; et absque ullis præliis inglorius periit. Hieron. *ibid.*

(2) —ἀπρακτὼς ἄμα καὶ ἀσθενὴς, διὰ τὴν τῆ πατρὸς συμφορὰν. otiosus nec admodum potens,

propter cladem quam pater acceperat. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 131. Edit. Steph. p. 212. Edit. Tollii.

(3) Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Valefii. p. 302. Usher's Annals. A. M. 3823. A. C. 181. p. 403.

(4) 2 Macc.

commit sacrilege; for (4) being informed of the money that was deposited in the temple of Jerusalem, he sent his treasurer Heliodorus to seize it. This was literally *causing an exactor to pass over the glory of the kingdom*, when he sent his treasurer to plunder that temple, which (5) *even kings did honor, and magnify with their best gifts*, and where Seleucus himself, *of his own revenues, bare all the costs belonging to the service of the sacrifices*. But *within few days, or rather years* according to the prophetic stile, he was to *be destroyed*; and his reign was of short duration in comparison of his father's; for he (6) reigned only twelve years, and his father thirty seven. Or perhaps the passage may be better expounded thus, that *within few days or years*, after his attempting to plunder the temple of Jerusalem, he should *be destroyed*: and not long after that, as all chronologers agree, he was *destroyed, neither in anger, nor in battle*, neither in rebellion at home, nor in war abroad, but (7) by the treachery of his own treasurer Heliodorus. The same wicked hand, that was the instrument of his sacrilege, was also the instrument of his death. Seleucus having (8) sent his only son Demetrius

to

(4) 2 Macc. III. 7. Josephus
de Maccabæis. Sect. 4. p. 1395.
Edit. Hudson.

(5) 2 Macc. III. 2, 3.

(6) Vide Appian. ibid.

(7) ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς Ἡλιόδωρου τινος
τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀποδίδηται. insidiis
Heliodori cujusdam purpurati
oppressus

to be an hostage at Rome instead of his brother Antiochus, and Antiochus being not yet returned to the Syrian court, Heliodorus thought this a fit opportunity to dispatch his master, and in the absence of the next heirs to the crown, to usurp it to himself. But he was disappointed in his ambitious projects, and only made way for another's usurped greatness, instead of his own.

Few circumstances are mentioned relating to Seleucus Philopator; many more particulars are predicted of his brother and successor Antiochus Epiphanes, as he was indeed a more extraordinary person, and likewise a greater enemy and oppressor of the Jews. *And in his estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honor of the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.*

(ver. 21.) Antiochus returning from Rome, (9) was at Athens in his way to Syria, when his brother Seleucus died by the treachery of Heliodorus: and *the honor of the kingdom was not given to him*; for Heliodorus attempted to get possession of it himself; another (1) party declared in favor of Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt, whose mother Cleopatra was the daughter of

Antiochus

oppressus est. App. de Bell. Syr. p. 116. Edit. Steph. p. 187. Edit. Tollii.

(8) Vide Appian. ibid.

(9) Appian. ibid.

(1) Hieron. in locum. Col. 1127.

(2) Appian.

Antiochus the great, and sister of the late king Seleucus; and neither was Antiochus Epiphanes the right heir to the crown, but his nephew Demetrius the son of Seleucus, who was then an hostage at Rome. However he *obtained the kingdom by flatteries*. He flattered (2) Eumenes king of Pergamus and Attalus his brother, and by fair promises engaged their assistance, and they the more readily assisted him, as they were at that juncture jealous of the Romans, and were willing therefore to secure a friend in the king of Syria. He flattered too (3) the Syrians, and with great show of clemency obtained their concurrence. He flattered also (4) the Romans, and sent ambassadors to court their favor, to pay them the arrears of tribute, to present them besides with golden vessels of five hundred pound weight, and to desire that the friendship and alliance, which they had had with his father, might be renewed with him, and that they would lay their commands upon him as upon a good and faithful confederate king;

(2) Appian. *ibid.*

(3) *Simulatione clementiæ obtinuit regnum Syriæ.* Hieron. *ibid.*

(4) Liv. Lib. 42. Cap. 6. *Petere regem, ut quæ cum patre suo societas atque amicitia*

fuiſſet, ea ſecum renovaretur: imperaretque ſibi populus Romanus, quæ bono fidelique ſocio regi eſſent imperanda; ſe nullo uſquam ceſſaturum officio.

(5) Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 117. Edit. Steph. p. 187. Edit.

king; he would never be wanting in any duty. Thus he *came in peaceably*; and as he flattered the Syrians, the Syrians flattered him again, (5) and bestowed upon him the title of *Epi-phanes* or *the illustrious*: but the epithet of *vile* or rather *despicable*, given him by the prophet, agrees better with his true character. For, as (6) Polybius and other heathen historians describe him, he would steal out of the palace, and ramble about the streets in disguise; would mix with the lowest company, and drink and revel with them to the greatest excess; would put on the Roman gown, and go about canvassing for votes, in imitation of the candidates for offices at Rome; would sometimes scatter money in the streets among his followers, and sometimes pelt them with stones; would wash in the public baths, and expose himself by all manner of ridiculous and indecent gestures; with a thousand such freaks and extravagances, as induced (7) Polybius who was a contemporary writer, and others after him, instead of

Epi-

Edit. Tollii.

(6) Polyb. apud Athenæum. Lib. 5. p. 193. Lib. 10. p. 438. Edit. Casaubon. Diod. Sic. in Excerptis Valefii. p. 305, 306. Liv. Lib. 41. Cap. 24, 25.

(7) Πολυβίος δ' ἐν τῇ ἐκτῇ καὶ
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εἰκοστῇ τῶν ἱστοριῶν καλεῖ αὐτὸν Ἐπι-
μανῆ καὶ ἐκ Ἐπιφανῆ, διὰ τὰς
πραξεις. Polybius libro vigesimo
sexto historiarum eum vocat
ἐπιμανῆ, non ἐπιφανῆ, ob ea quæ
ab illo gesta sunt. Athenæus
Lib. 10. p. 439. Vide etiam
Lib. 2. p. 45. Lib. 5. p. 193.
(8) Κε:

K

Dissertations on the PROPHECIES.

Epiphanes or the illustrious, more rightly to call him *Epimanes* or the madman.

But frantic and extravagant as he was, he was however successful and victorious. *And with the arms of a flood shall they be overflown from before him*; or rather more agreeably to the (8) original, *And the arms of the overflower shall be overflown from before him, and shall be broken*; yea, also the prince of the covenant: *And after the league made with him he shall work deceitfully.* (ver. 22, 23.) The arms which were overflown from before him, were those of his competitors for the crown. Heliodorus (9) the murderer of Seleucus and his partizans, as well as those of the king of Egypt, who had formed some designs upon Syria, were vanquished by the forces of Eumenes and Attalus, and were dissipated by the arrival of Antiochus, whose presence disconcerted all their measures. *The prince also of the covenant was broken*, that is the high priest of the Jews; and so (1) Theodoret understands and explains it. ‘*The prince of the covenant*:

‘ He

(8) Καὶ βραχίονες τῆ κατὰ κλυ-
ζῶνος κατὰ κλυσθήσαναι ἀπὸ προ-
σωπῆς αὐτοῦ. Sept.

Et brachia obruentis obruentur a conspectu ejus. Arab. Et brachia pugnantis expugnabuntur a facie ejus. Vulg.

(9) Heliodore meurtrier de Séleucus, et ses partisans, auf-

si bien que ceux du roi d' Egypte, qui avoient quelques desseins sur la Syrie, furent vaincus par les forces d' Attalus, & d' Eumenes; et dissipés par l' arivée d' Antiochus, dont la présence deconcerta tous leurs desseins. Calmet. Vide, si placet, Appian. Syriac. p.

He speaketh of the pious high priest, the brother of Jason, and foretelleth, that even he should be turned out of his office.' As soon as Antiochus was seated in the throne, (2) he removed Onias from the high priesthood, and preferred Jason the brother of Onias to that dignity, not for any crime committed against him by the former, but for the great sums of money which were offered to him by the latter. For Jason offered to give him no less than three hundred and sixty talents of silver for the high priesthood, besides eighty more upon another account: and good Onias was not only displaced to make way for a wicked usurper, but after a few years, living at Antioch, he was with as great treachery as cruelty murdered by the king's deputy. But though Antiochus had *made a league* with Jason the new high-priest, yet he did not faithfully adhere to it, but acted *deceitfully*. For Menelaus the brother of Jason (3) being sent to the Syrian court, with a commission from his brother, to pay the tribute,

116, 117. Grot. hic.

(1) Καὶ γὰρ ἡγούμενος διαθήκης. λέγει γὰρ τὸν ἀρχιερεῖα τὸν εὐσεβῆ, τὸν τῷ Ιάσωνος ἀδελφόν, καὶ προδιδασκῆναι, ὅτι κἀκεῖνον τῷ ἀρχιερεῖα τεύειν παύσει. *Et dux fœderis. Principem sacerdotum intelligi vult pium Jasonis fratrem, præmonetque fore ut illum etiam*

abdicet pontificatu maximo. Theod. in locum. p. 683. Tom. 2. Edit. Sirmondi.

(2) 2 Macc. IV. Josephus de Maccabæis. Sect. 4. p. 1395. Edit. Hudson.

(3) 2 Macc. ibid. Sulpicii Severi Sac. Hist. Lib. 2. p. 85. Edit. Elzevir. 1656.

K 2

(4) Appian

bute, and to transact some business with the king; he by his address and flattery so far insinuated himself into the royal favor, that he attempted to supplant his elder brother Jason, as Jason had supplanted his elder brother Onias; and profered to give three hundred talents more for the high priesthood than Jason had given for it. The king readily accepted the proposal, and issued his mandate for the deposing of Jason, and advancing of Menelaus in his room: but he could not effect the change without an armed force, which put Menelaus in possession of the place, and compelled Jason to fly, and take shelter in the land of the Ammonites.

What follows is not assigning a reason for any thing that preceded, and therefore ought not to have been translated *For he shall come up*, but *And he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people. He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province*, or as it is in the margin, *He shall enter into the peaceable and fat places of the province, and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers fathers, he shall scatter among them the prey, and spoil, and riches: yea, and he shall*
forecast

(4) Appian de Bell. Syr. p. 117. Edit. Steph. p. 187. Edit. Tollii.

(5) Polyb. apud Athenæum. Lib. 5. p. 195. Edit. Casaubon.

(6) 1 Macc.

forecast his devices against the strong holds, even for a time. (ver. 23, 24.) Antiochus Epiphanes had been many years an hostage at Rome; and coming from thence with only a few attendants, he appeared in Syria little at first, but soon received a great increase, *and became strong with a small people.* By the (4) friendship of Eumenes and Attalus he *entered peaceably* upon the upper provinces; and appointed Timarchus and Heraclides, the one to be governor of Babylon, and the other to be his treasurer, two brothers, with both of whom he had unnatural commerce. He likewise *entered peaceably* upon the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine. And wherever he came, he outdid *his fathers, and his fathers fathers* in liberality and profusion. He *scattered among them the prey, and spoil, and riches.* The (5) *prey* of his enemies, the *spoil* of temples; and the *riches* of his friends as well as his own revenues, were expended in public shows, and bestowed in largesses among the people. The writer of the first book of Maccabees affirms, that (6) in the liberal giving of gifts *he abounded above the kings that were before him.* Josephus testifies, that (7) he was magnanimous and munificent. Polybius

(6) 1 Macc. III. 30.

Hudson. μεγαλοψυχος και φιλο-

(7) Joseph. Antiqu. Lib. 12. δωρος. vir magni animi, et largitor.

Cap. 7. Sect. 2. p. 537. Edit.

bious recounts (8) various instances of his extravagance, and relates particularly, that (9) sometimes meeting accidentally with people whom he had never seen before, he would enrich them with unexpected presents; and (1) sometimes standing in the public streets, he would throw about his money, and cry aloud Let him take it to whom fortune shall give it. His generosity was the more requisite to fix the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine in his interest, because they were claimed as of right belonging to the king of Egypt. Ptolemy Epiphanes was now dead; his queen Cleopatra was dead too; (2) and Eulæus an eunuch, and Lenæus, who were administrators of the kingdom for the young king Ptolemy Philometor, demanded the restitution of these provinces, alleging with very good reason, that they were assigned to the first Ptolemy in the last partition of the empire among Alexander's captains; that they had remained ever since in the possession of the kings of Egypt, till

Anti-

(8) Polyb. *ibid.* p. 194, &c.
Lib. 10. p. 438, &c.

(9) ἐξ ἀπαιήσεως δὲ τισὶ τυγ-
χανῶν ὅς μὴ ἰωρακεῖ πρὶς ἐδιδῶ δω-
ρεῖας ἀπροσδοκητὰς. aliquando
forté obvios, quos nunquam vi-
derat, insperatis muneribus affi-
ceret. p. 194.

(1) ἀλλοῖς δὲ ἐν ταῖς δημοσiais
ὁδοῖς ἱσταμένος λεγεῖν, τινὶ ἢ τύχη
διδῶσι λαβεῖν, καὶ ῥίψας τὸ ἀργυ-
ρεῖον ὡχέλο. nonnunquam publica
via stantem cum proclamasset,
Sumat cui fortunadederit, jactis
sparsisque aureis nummis dif-
cessisse. p. 438.

Antiochus the great took them away unjustly in the minority of Ptolemy Epiphanes the present king's father ; and after he had taken them away, he agreed to surrender them again in dowry with his daughter Cleopatra. Antiochus denied these pleas and pretences with the direct contrary assertions ; and foreseeing, as well he might foresee, that these demands would prove the ground and occasion of a new war between the two crowns, (3) he came to Joppa to take a view of the frontiers, and to put them in a proper posture of defense. In his progress he came to Jerusalem, where he was honorably received by Jason the high-priest, and by all the people ; and as it was evening, he was ushered into the city with torch-light and with great rejoicings : and from thence he went into Phœnicia, to fortify his own *strong holds*, and to *forecast his devices* against those of the enemy. The (4) Seventy and the Arabic translator with a little variation in the reading render it, to *forecast his devices*

(2) Et quum post mortem Cleopatrz Eulaius eunuchus nutricius Philometoris, et Lenæus Ægyptum regerent, et repeterent Syriam quam Antiochus fraude occupaverat, ortum est inter avunculum et puerum Ptolemæum prælium. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1127. Polyb.

Legat. 72. p. 892. Legat. 82. p. 908. Edit. Casaubon.

(3) 2 Macc. IV. 21, 22.

(4) Καὶ ἐπ' Αἰγυπτίον λογισμαὶ λογισμοί. Sept. Et cogitabit adversus Ægyptum cogitationes. Arab. Instead of מַצְרִי מַצְרִי they read מַצְרִי.

devices against Egypt. Thus he did even for a time, and employed some years in his hostile preparations.

At length Antiochus, in the fifth year of his reign, (5) despising the youth of Ptolemy, and the inertness of his tutors, and believing the Romans to be too much employed in the Macedonian war to give him any interruption, resolved to carry hostilities into the enemy's country instead of waiting for them in his own, and marched with a powerful army against Egypt. *And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south with a great army, and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army; but he shall not stand: for they shall forecast devices against him. Yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat, shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow, or (6) rather shall be overflowed: and many shall fall down slain.* (ver. 25, 26.) These things (7) Porphyry rightly interprets of Antiochus, who marched against Ptolemy his sisters son with a great

(5) Liv. Lib. 42. Cap. 29.

(6) Exercitus ejus inundabitur. Pagn. Exercitusque ejus opprimetur. Vulg. Exercitus ejus dissipabitur. Syr.

(7) Hæc Porphyrius interpretatur de Antiocho, qui adversus

Ptolemæum sororis suæ filium profectus est cum exercitu magno. Sed et rex auslri, id est, duces Ptolemæi provocati sunt ad bellum multis auxiliis, et fortibus nimis; et non potuerunt resistere Antiochi consiliis frau-

great army. The king of the south too, that is the generals of Ptolemy were stirred up to war with very many and exceeding strong forces; and yet could not resist the fraudulent counsels of Antiochus. The two armies engaged (8) between Pelusium and mount Casius, and Antiochus obtained the victory. The (9) next campaign he had greater success, routed the Egyptians, took Pelusium, ascended as far as Memphis, and made himself master of all Egypt except Alexandria. These transactions are thus related by the (1) writer of the first book of Maccabees: " Now when the kingdom was established before Antiochus, he thought to reign over Egypt, that he might have the dominion of two realms. Wherefore he entered into Egypt with a great multitude, with chariots, and elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy; And made war against Ptolemy king of Egypt: but Ptolemy was afraid of him, and fled; and many were wounded to death. Thus they got the strong cities

fraudulentis. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1128.

(8) Quumque inter Pelusium et montem Casium prælium commississent, victi sunt duces Ptolemæi. Hieron. Col. 1127, 28.

(9) 2 Macc. V. 1. Hieron. ibid. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 5. Sect. 2. p. 532. Edit. Hudson. Valesii Excerpta ex Diodoro. p. 311.

(1) 1 Macc. I. 16, 17, 18, 19.

(2) Va-

“ cities in the land of Egypt, and he took
 “ the spoils thereof.” *He shall stir up his
 power against the king of the south with a great
 army, says the prophet; he entered into Egypt
 with a great multitude, says the historian. The
 king of the south shall not stand, says the pro-
 phet; Ptolemy was afraid and fled, says the
 historian. Many shall fall down slain, says
 the prophet; and many were wounded to death,*
 says the historian. The misfortunes of Ptolemy
 Philometor are by the prophet ascribed princi-
 pally to the treachery and baseness of his own
 ministers and subjects: *for they shall forecast
 devices against him; yea, they that feed of the
 portion of his meat shall destroy him.* And it is
 certain that Eulæus (2) was a very wicked mi-
 nister, and bred up the young king in luxury
 and effeminacy contrary to his natural inclination.
 Ptolemy Macron too, (3) who was governor
 of Cyprus, revolted from him, and delivered
 up that important island to Antiochus; and for
 the reward of his treason was admitted into the
 number of the king’s principal friends, and
 was made governor of Cœle-Syria and Palestine.
 Nay even (4) the Alexandrians, seeing the
 distress

(2) Valefii Excerpta ex Dio-
 doro. p. 311, 313.

(3) Valefii Excerpta ex Po-
 lybio. p. 126. 2 Macc. X. 13.

1 Macc. III. 38. 2 Macc. VIII.
 8.

(4) Porphy. apud Eusebii
 Chron. Græc. p. 60 & 68.

(5) Nulli

distress of Philometor, renounced their allegiance; and taking his younger brother Euergetes or Physcon, proclaimed him king instead of the elder brother.

History hath not informed us, by what means Ptolemy Philometor came into the hands of Antiochus, whether he was taken prisoner, or surrendered himself of his own accord; but that he was in the hands of Antiochus, is evident beyond all contradiction. *And both these kings hearts shall be to do mischief, and they shall speak lies at one table; but it shall not prosper: for yet the end shall be at the time appointed.* (ver. 27.) After Antiochus was come to Memphis, and the greater part of Egypt had submitted to him, (5) he and Philometor did frequently eat and converse together *at one table*: but notwithstanding this appearance of peace and friendship, *their hearts* were really bent *to do mischief*, and they *spoke lies* the one to the other. For (6) Antiochus pretended to take care of his nephew Philometor's interest, and promised to restore him to the crown, at the same time that he was plotting his ruin, and was contriving means to weaken the two brothers in

a war

(5) Nulli dubium est quin Antiochus pacem cum Ptolemaeo fecerit, et inierit cum eo convivium, et dolos machinatus

fit, &c. Hieron. ibid. Col. 1128.

(6) Polyb. Legat. 84. p. 909. Edit. Casaubon. Liv. Lib. 44. Cap. 19. Lib. 45. Cap. 11.

(7) Liv.

a war against each other, that the conqueror wearied and exhausted might fall an easier prey to him. On the other side (7) Philometor laid the blame of the war on his governor Eulæus, professed great obligations to his uncle, and seemed to hold the crown by his favor, at the same time that he was resolved to take the first opportunity of breaking the league with him, and of being reconciled to his brother: and accordingly, as soon as ever Antiochus was withdrawn, he made proposals of accommodation, and by the mediation of their sister Cleopatra a peace was made between the two brothers, who agreed to reign jointly in Egypt and Alexandria. But still this artifice and dissimulation did *not prosper* on either side. For (8) neither did Antiochus obtain the kingdom, neither did Philometor utterly exclude him, and prevent his returning with an army, as each intended and expected by the measures which he had taken: for these wars were not to have an *end till the time appointed*, which was not yet come.

Anti-

(7) Liv. *ibid.* Polyb. *Legat.* 82. p. 908. Porphy. *apud.* Eusebium *ibid.*

(8)—et nihil profecerit: quia regnum ejus non potuerit obtinere; &c. Hieron. *ibid.*

(9) 1 Macc. I. 19, 20.

(1) ταυτα δε παντα συντελεσθη, εξ ων τα μιν εκ της Αιγυπτου ενοσφισατο παρασπονδησας τον Φιλομητορα βασιλεια παιδισκον οντα. Omnia porro hæc sic absoluta

Antiochus hoping to become absolute master of Egypt, more easily by the civil war between the two brothers than by the exertion of his own forces, left the kingdom for a while, and returned into Syria. *Then shall he return into his land with great riches, and his heart shall be against the holy covenant; and he shall do exploits, and return to his own land.* (ver. 28.) He did indeed return with great riches; for the spoils which he took in Egypt were of immense value. The (9) writer of the first book of Maccabees says, "Thus they got the strong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the spoils thereof. And after that Antiochus had smitten Egypt, he returned." Polybius (1) describing his opulence and the great show that he made of gold, silver, jewels, and the like, affirms that he took them partly out of Egypt, having broken the league with the young king Philometor. Returning too from Egypt, he set *his heart against the holy covenant.* For it happened while he was in Egypt, that (2) a false report was spread of his death. Jason thinking
this

absoluta et exulta sunt partim iis quibus in Ægypto, perfide violato fœderis pacto, regem Ptolemæum Philometora adhuc puerulum defraudaverat. Polyb. apud Athenæum, Lib. 5. p.

195. Edit. Casaubon.

(2) 2 Macc. V. 5—23. 1 Macc. I. 20—28. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 5. Sect. 3. p. 532. Lib. 13. Cap. 8. Sect. 2. p. 582. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap.

this a favorable opportunity for him to recover the high priesthood, marched to Jerusalem with a thousand men, assaulted and took the city, drove Menelaus into the castle, and exercised great cruelties upon the citizens. Antiochus hearing of this, concluded that the whole nation had revolted; and being informed that the people had made great rejoicings at the report of his death, he determined to take a severe revenge, and went up with a great army as well as with great indignation against Jerusalem. He besieged and took the city by force of arms, slew forty thousand of the inhabitants, and sold as many more for slaves, polluted the temple and altar with swine's flesh, profaned the holy of holies by breaking into it, took away the golden vessels and other sacred treasures to the value of eighteen hundred talents, restored Menelaus to his office and authority, and constituted one Philip, by nation a Phrygian, in manners a bar-

Cap. 1. Sect. 1. p. 958. De Maccab. Sect. 4. p. 1396. Polybius Megalopolitanus, Strabo Cappadox, Nicolaus Damascenus, Timagenes, Castor et Apollodorus apud Joseph. contra Apion. Lib. 2. p. 1369. Edit. Hudson. Diodorus Siculus. Ex Lib. 34. Ecloga prima. p. 901. Edit. Rhod. et apud

Photii Biblioth. Cod. 244. p. 1149. Edit. Rothom. 1653.

(3) 1 Macc. I. 24.

(4) 2 Macc. V. 21.

(5) ἐγκρατὴς δ' ὅτος τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων γενομένου, πολλὰς ἀπέκτεινεν τῶν ἐναντία φρονούντων· καὶ χρημάτων πολλὰ συλῆσας ὑπερβύβην

a barbarian, governor of Judea. When he had *done these exploits, he returned to his own land.* So says (3) the writer of the first book of Mac-cabees, “ When he had taken all away, he “ went into his own land, having made a great “ massacre, and spoken very proudly:” So like-wise (4) the author of the second book of Mac-cabees, “ When Antiochus had carried out of “ the temple a thousand and eight hundred ta- “ lents, he departed in all haste unto Antiochia.” Josephus too (5) to the same purpose, ‘ When ‘ he had gotten possession of Jerufalem, he slew ‘ many of the adverse party ; and having taken ‘ great spoils, he returned to Antioch.’ These things are not only recorded by Jews ; for as (6) Jerome observes, ‘ both the Greek and Roman ‘ history relates, that after Antiochus returned ‘ from Egypt, he came into Judea, that is, ‘ *against the holy covenant*, and spoiled the tem- ‘ ple, and took away a great quantity of gold ; ‘ and

αἱ Ἀντιοχίαν. Ubi autem is in sua potestate habuit Hierosoly-ma, multos diversarum partium interfecit ; magnaue pecuniæ vi direpta, Antiochiam rediit. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 5. Sect. 3. p. 532. Edit. Hud-son.

(6) Et Græca et Romana

narrat historia : postquam re-versus est Antiochus expulsus ab Ægyptiis, venisse cum in Judæam, hoc est adversus Tes-tamentum sanctum, et spoliasse templum, et auri tulisse quam plurimum : positoque in arce præsidio Macedonum, reversum in terram suam. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1129.

(7) Et

- and having placed a garrison of Macedonians
- in the citadel, he returned into his own
- land.'

After (7) two years Antiochus marched into Egypt again. *At the time appointed* (and hinted at before, ver. 27.) *he shall return, and come toward the south, but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter; or as it is translated in* (8) *the Vulgar Latin, the latter shall not be like the former. For the ships of Chittim shall come against him: therefore he shall be grieved, and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant: so shall he do, he shall even return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant.* (ver. 29, 30.) Antiochus perceiving, that his fine-woven policy was all unraveled, and that the two brothers, instead of wasting and ruining each other in war, had provided for their mutual safety and interest by making peace, (9) was so offended, that he prepared war much more eagerly and maliciously against both, than he had before against one of them. Early therefore in the spring he set

(7) Et post biennium rursum contra Ptolemæum exercitum congregasse, et venisse ad austrum. Hieron. ibid.

(8) Non erit priori simile novissimum. Vulg.

(9) —adeo est offensus, ut multo acrius infestiusque adversus duos, quam ante adversus unum, pararet bellum:—ipse primo vere cum exercitu Ægyptum petens, in Cœlen Syriam

set forwards with his army, and passing thro' Cœle-Syria came into Egypt, and the inhabitants of Memphis and the other Egyptians, partly out of love, partly out of fear, submitting to him, he came by easy marches down to Alexandria. *But this expedition was not as successful as his former ones; the reason of which is assigned in the next words, the ships of Chittim coming against him.* In the fifth dissertation it was proved, that *the coast of Chittim and the land of Chittim* is a general name for Greece, Italy, and the countries and ilands in the Mediterranean. *The ships of Chittim* therefore are the ships which brought the Roman ambassadors, who came from Italy, touched at Greece, and arrived in Egypt, being sent by the senate, at the supplication of the Ptolemies, to command a peace between the contending kings. The story was related out of the Greek and Roman historians in the last dissertation: it is needless therefore to repeat it here: it will be sufficient to add what (1) St. Jerome says upon the occasion. ' When the two brothers Ptolemies,

riam processit.—[receptus ab iis qui] ad Memphim incolebant, et ab cæteris Ægyptiis, partim voluntate, partim metu, ad Alexandriam modicis itineribus descendit. Liv. Lib. 45. Cap. 11, 12.

VOL. II.

(1) Quumque duo fratres Ptolemæi Cleopatæ filii, quorum avunculus erat, obsiderentur Alexandriæ, legatos venisse Romanos: quorum unus Marcus Popilius Lenas, quum eum stantem

I.

tem

' mics, the sons of Cleopatra, were besieged
 ' by their uncle in Alexandria, the Roman em-
 ' bassadors came : one of whom Marcus Popil-
 ' lius Lenas, when he had found him standing
 ' on the shore, and had delivered to him the
 ' decree of the senate, by which he was com-
 ' manded to depart from the friends of the Ro-
 ' man people, and to be content with his own
 ' empire ; and he would have deferred the
 ' matter to consult with his friends ; Popillius is
 ' said to have made a circle in the sand with
 ' the stick that he held in his hand, and to
 ' have circumscribed the king, and to have said,
 ' The senate and people of Rome order, that
 ' in that place you answer, what is your inten-
 ' tion. With these words being frightened he
 ' said, If this pleases the senate and people of
 ' Rome, we must depart ; and so presently
 ' drew off his army.' The reason of the Ro-
 ' mans acting in this imperious manner, and of
 ' Antiochus so readily obeying, was, as (2) Polybius

sug-

tem invenisset in littore, et sena-
 tus consultum dedisset, quo ju-
 bebatur ab amicis populi Ro-
 mani recedere, et suo imperio
 esse contentus ; et ille ad ami-
 corum responsionem consilium
 distulisset ; orbem dicitur fecisse
 in arenis baculo quem tenebat
 in manu, et circumscripsisse re-
 gem atque dixisse ; Senatus et

populus Romanus precipiunt,
 ut in isto loco respondeas, quid
 consilii geras. Quibus dictis
 ille perterritus ait ; Si hoc pla-
 cet senatui et populo Romano,
 recedendum est, atque ita statim
 movit exercitum. Hieron. ibid.

(2) Μη γὰρ γινόμενα ταῦτα καὶ
 πισυθέντος, ὥς αὐτὸς μοι δοκεῖ, πει-
 σαρχῆ

suggests, the total conquest that Paulus Æmilius, the Roman consul, had just made of the kingdom of Macedonia. It was without doubt a great mortification to Antiochus, to be so humbled, and so disappointed of his expected prey. *Therefore he grieved, and returned.* He led back his forces, into Syria, as (3) Polybius says, grieved and groaning, but thinking it expedient to yield to the times for the present. *And had indignation against the holy covenant:* for (4) he vented all his anger upon the Jews: he detached Apollonius with an army of twenty two thousand men, who coming to Jerusalem slew great multitudes, plundered the city, set fire to it in several places, and pulled down the houses and walls round about it. Then they builded, on an eminence in the city of David, a strong fortress, which might command the temple; and issuing from thence, they fell on those who came to worship, and shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled it: so that

Σαρχιστὰς τοῖς ἐπιτάττοις Ἀντιόχου. Nam hoc nisi accidisset, neque de ea re constitisset, nunquam, opinor, esset adductus Antiochus, ut imperata faceret. Polyb. Legat. 92. p. 917. Edit. Casaubon.

Ufferius] βαρυνόμενος καὶ στενὸν εἶχον δὲ τοῖς καίροις κατὰ τὸ παρόν. Antiochus copias Agriam [Syriam] suas, gravate ille quidem ac gemens, sed tamen abduxit, in presentia tempori cedendum ratus. Polyb. ibid. p. 916.

(3) ὅτις μὲν ἀπύχιστος τὰς δυνάμεις, ὡς τὴν Ἀγρίαν [Συρίαν ut putat

(4) 1 Macc. I. 29—40. 2 Macc. V. 24, 25, 26.

I. 2

(5) Macc.

that the temple was deserted, and the whole service omitted ; the city was forsaken of its natives, and became an habitation of strangers. *So he did*, and after his *return* to Antioch (5) he published a decree, which obliged all persons upon pain of death to conform to the religion of the Greeks : and so the Jewish law was abrogated, the Heathen worship was set up in its stead, and the temple itself was consecrated to Jupiter Olympius. In the transacting and ordering of these matters he *had intelligence with them that forsook the holy covenant*, Menelaus and the other apostate Jews of his party, who were the king's chief instigators against their religion and their country. For (6) as the writer of the first book of Maccabees says, “ In those days
 “ went there out of Israel wicked men, who
 “ persuaded many, saying, Let us go, and
 “ make a covenant with the Heathen, that are
 “ round about us : Then certain of the people
 “ were so forward herein, that they went to the
 “ king, who gave them licence to do after the
 “ ordinances of the Heathen : And they made
 “ themselves uncircumcised, and forsook the
 “ holy covenant, and joined themselves to the
 “ Heathen,

(5) 1 Macc. I. 41—64. 2
 Macc. VI. 1—9.

(6) 1 Macc. I. 11, 13, 15.

(7) Josephus de Bell. Jud. Lib.
 I. Cap. I. Sect. 1. p. 958. Edit.

Hudson. οἱ δὲ κατὰφυγόντες πρὸς
 Ἀντίοχον

“Heathen, and were sold to do mischief.” Josephus as plainly (7) ascribes the distress of his country to the factions among his countrymen, and to those persons particularly who fled to Antiochus, and besought him that under their conduct he would invade Judea.

It may be proper to stop here, and reflect a little how particular and circumstantial this prophecy is concerning the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria, from the death of Alexander to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. There is not so complete and regular a series of their kings, there is not so concise and comprehensive an account of their affairs, to be found in any author of those times. The prophecy is really more perfect than any history. No one historian hath related so many circumstances, and in such exact order of time, as the prophet hath foretold them: so that it was necessary to have recourse to several authors, Greek and Roman, Jewish and Christian; and to collect here something from one, and to collect there something from another, for the better explaining and illustrating the great variety of particulars contained in this prophecy. We have been particularly obliged to

Por-

Ἀντιόχον ἱκετεύσαν, αὐτοῖς ἡγεμοσὶ
χρωμένον, εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐμβαλεῖν.
illi vero ad Antiochum se re-

ceperunt, eique supplicarunt ut
ipsis ducibus in Judæam irrum-
peret.

L 3

(8) Ad

Porphyry and Jerome, who made use of the same authors for different purposes, and enjoyed the advantages of having those histories entire, which have since either in whole or in part been destroyed. For (8) they had not only Polybius, Diodorus, Livy, and Trogus Pompeius, some parts of whose works are now remaining; but they had likewise Sutorius Callinicus, Hieronymus, Posidonius, Claudius Theon, and Andronicus Alipius, historians who wrote of those times, and whose works have since entirely perished. If these authors were still extant, and those who are extant were still complete, the great exactness of the prophecy might in all probability have been proved in more particulars than it hath been. This exactness was so convincing, that Porphyry could not pretend to deny it; he rather labor'd to confirm it, and drew this inference from it; that the prophecy was

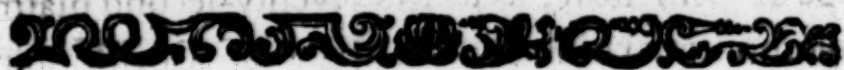
(8) Ad intelligendas autem extremas partes Danielis, multiplex Græcorum historia necessaria est; Sutorii videlicet, Callinici, Diodori, Hieronymi, Polybii, Posidonii, Claudii, Theonis, et Andronici cognomento Alipii, quos et Porphyrius esse se secutum dicit: Josephi quoque et eorum quos penit Josephus, præcipueque nostri Livii, et Pompeii Trogi, atque Justinii,

qui omnem extremæ visionis narrant historiam. Hieron. Præf. in Dan. Col. 1074. Edit. Benedicti. *Sutorii videlicet Callinici, Diodori, Hieronymi, Polybii, Posidonii, Claudii Theonis, et Andronici cognomento Alipii.* Ita eum locum emenda. In vulgatis est *Sutorius*, et ante *Callinicus* distinguitur, quasi a Sutorio sit diversus. Vossius de Hist. Græc. Lib. 2. Cap. 13.

(1) Cætera

was so very exact, that it could not possibly have been written before, but must have been written in, or soon after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, all being true and exact to that time, and no farther. Others after him have asserted the same thing, not only without any proof, but contrary to all the proofs, which can be had in cases of this nature, as it hath been shown in a former dissertation. The prophecy indeed is wonderfully exact to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, but it is equally so beyond that time, as you will evidently perceive in the sequel, which cannot all with any propriety be applied to Antiochus, but extends to remoter ages, and reaches even to the general resurrection. No one could thus declare *the times and the seasons* (Act. I. 7.) but he who *hath them in his power*.





XVII.

The same subject continued.

PART II.

THUS far the meaning and completion of the prophecy is sufficiently clear and evident; there is more obscurity and difficulty in the part that remains to be considered. Thus far commentators are in the main agreed, and few or none have deviated much out of the common road: but hereafter they pursue so many different paths, that it is not always easy to know whom it is best and safest to follow. Some, (1) as Porphyry among the ancients, and Grotius among the moderns, contend that the whole was literally accomplished in Antiochus Epiphanes. Others, (2) as Jerome and most of the Christian fathers, consider Antiochus as a type

(1) Cætera quæ sequuntur usque ad finem voluminis, ille [Porphyrius] interpretatur super persona Antiochi qui cognominatus est Epiphanes, &c. Hieron. Col. 1127.

(2) Nostri autem hæc omnia de Antichristo prophetari arbi-

trantur—Quumque multa quæ postea lecturi et exposituri sumus, super Antiochi persona convenient, typum eum volunt Antichristi habere—juxta illud quod de Domino Salvatore in septuagesimo primo [secundo apud Hebr. et Sept.] psalmo dicitur,

type of Antichrist; as in the seventy-second psalm Solomon is exhibited as a type of Christ, and many things are said of the one, which are only applicable to the other. Some again understand what remains, partly of the tyranny of Antiochus, and partly of the great apostasy of the latter days, or the days of the Roman empire. Others again apply it wholly to the invasion and tyranny of the Romans, the subsequent corruptions in the church, and alterations in the empire. There is no writer or commentator, whom we would choose to follow implicitly in all things; but in this we may agree with one, in that with another, and in some instances perhaps differ from all.

The prophet proceeds thus, (ver. 31.) *And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, (the temple so called by reason of its fortifications) and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate.* Porphyry and his adherents (3) would have those to be signified,

dicitur, qui prænотatur Salomonis; et omnia quæ de eo dicuntur, Salomoni non valent convenire, &c. Hieron. ibid.

(3) Volunt autem eos significari qui ab Antiocho missi sunt post biennium quam templum expoliaverat, ut tributa exige-

rent a Judæis, et auferrent cultum Dei, et in templo Jerusalem, Jovis Olympii simulacrum, et Antiochi statuas ponerent; quas nunc *abominationem desolationis* vocat. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1129.

(4) 1 Maccab.

fied, who were sent by Antiochus two years after he had spoiled the temple, that they might exact tribute from the Jews, and take away the worship of God, and place in the temple of Jerusalem the image of Jupiter Olympius, and the statues of Antiochus, which are here called *the abomination of desolation*. And it is very true, (4) as the writer of the first book of Maccabees saith, that Apollonius and others commissioned by Antiochus did “pollute the
 “sanctuary, and forbid burnt-offerings, and
 “sacrifice, and drink-offerings in the temple,
 “and set up the abomination of desolation upon
 “the altar, and builded idol-altars throughout
 “the cities of Juda on every side.” Josephus likewise (5) affirms, that Antiochus forbad the Jews to offer the daily sacrifices, which they offered to God according to the law: He compelled them also to leave off the service of their God, and to worship those whom he esteemed Gods; and to build temples and erect altars to them in every city and village, and to sacrifice swine

(4) 1 Maccab. I. 46, 45, 54.

(5) Και γαρ τας καθημερινας θυσιας, ας προσεφερον τῷ Θεῷ κατὰ τον νομον εκωλυσεν αυτης προσφερειν. Nam et sacrificia quotidiana, quæ offerre solebant ex lege, offerre eos vetuit. ηγκασε δ' αυτης αφεμενης της

πρὸς τον αυτων Θεον θρησκειας, της ὑπ' αυτου νομιζομενης σιβεισθαι. οικοδομησαντας δε εν εκαστη πολει και κωμη τεμενη αυτων και βωμους καθιδρυσαντας, θυειν επ' αυτοις συς κατ' ημεραν. Coegit etiam eos, Dei ipsorum cultu omisso, eos colere quos ipse Deus existimaret;

swine upon them every day. This interpretation therefore might very well be admitted, if the other parts were equally applicable to Antiochus; but the difficulty, or rather impossibility of applying them to Antiochus, or any of the Syrian kings his successors, obliges us to look out for another interpretation. Jerome and the Christians of his time (6) contend, that all these things were a type of Antichrist, who is about to sit in the temple of God, and to make himself as God: but the fathers had very confused and imperfect notions of Antichrist, the prophecies relating to him having not then received their completion. All things duly considered no interpretation of this passage appears so rational and convincing, as that proposed by Sir (7) Isaac Newton. “ In the same year that Antiochus by the command of the Romans retired out of Egypt, and set up the worship of the Greeks in Judea; the Romans conquered the kingdom of Macedon, the fundamental kingdom of the empire of the Greeks, and reduced
“ it

ret; et cum fana ipsorum oppidatim vicatimque extruxissent et aras collocassent, quotidie ibi immolare sues. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 5. Sect. 4. p. 533. Edit. Hudson.

(6) Quæ universa in typo Antichristi, nostri præcessisse

contendant; qui sessurus est in templo Dei, et se facturus ut Deum. Hieron. ibid.

(7) Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, Chap. 12. p. 188, &c. See also Chap. 9. p. 125, &c.

(8) So

“ it into a Roman province; and thereby began
 “ to put an end to the reign of Daniel’s third
 “ beast. This is thus expressed by Daniel.
 “ *And after him arms, that is the Romans, shall*
 “ *stand up.* As מִמֶּלֶךְ signifies (8) *after the king,*
 “ Dan. XI. 8; so מִמֶּנּוּ may signify *after him.*
 “ *Arms* are every were in this prophecy of
 “ Daniel put for the military power of a king-
 “ dom; and they stand up when they conquer
 “ and grow powerful. Hitherto Daniel described
 “ the actions of the kings of the *north* and *south*;
 “ but upon the conquest of Macedon by the
 “ Romans, he left off describing the actions of
 “ the Greeks, and began to describe those of
 “ the Romans in Greece. They conquered
 “ Macedon, Illyricum and Epirus; in the year
 “ of Nabonassar 580; 35 years after, by the
 “ last will and testament of Attalus the last king
 “ of Pergamus, they inherited that rich and
 “ flourishing kingdom, that is, all Asia westward
 “ of mount Taurus; 69 years after they con-
 “ quered the kingdom of Syria, and reduced it
 “ into a province, and 34 years after they did
 “ the like to Egypt. By all these steps the
 “ Roman

(8) So מִן־הָעַתְּ הָהִיא Nehem. XIII. 21. is *after that time*
or from that time forth. So like-
 wise in this very chap. ver. 23.
 מִן־הַתְּחִבְרוּת אֵלַי is translated
after the league made with him.

See the particle מִן in Noldius
 and Taylor’s Concordance.

(9) Judæi autem hoc nec de
 Antiocho Epiphane, nec de An-
 tichristo, sed de Romanis in-
 telligi volunt, de quibus supra
 dictum

“ Roman arms stood up over the Greeks: and
 “ after 95 years more, by making war upon the
 “ Jews, *they polluted the sanctuary of strength,*
 “ *and took away the daily sacrifice, and then placed*
 “ *the abomination of desolation.* For this abomi-
 “ nation was placed after the days of Christ,
 “ Mat. XXIV. 15. In the 16th year of the em-
 “ peror Adrian, A. C. 132, they placed this
 “ abomination by building a temple to Jupiter
 “ Capitolinus where the temple of God in Je-
 “ rusalem had stood. Thereupon the Jews
 “ under the conduct of Barchochab rose up in
 “ arms against the Romans, and in the war had
 “ fifty cities demolished, nine hundred and
 “ eighty five of their best towns destroyed, and
 “ five hundred and eighty thousand men slain
 “ by the sword; and in the end of the war,
 “ A. C. 136, were banished Judea upon pain-
 “ of death, and thenceforward the land re-
 “ mained desolate of its old inhabitants.” In
 support of this interpretation it may be farther
 added, that the Jews themselves, as (9) Jerome
 informs us, ‘ understood this passage neither of
 ‘ Antiochus Epiphanes, nor of Antichrist, but of
 ‘ the

dictum est, *Et venient trieres,*
 sive Itali atque Romani, *et bu-*
miliabitur. Post multa, inquit,
 tempora de ipsis Romanis, qui
 Ptolemæo venire auxilio, et
 Antiocho comminati sunt, con-

surget rex Vespasianus, surgent
 brachia ejus et semina, Titus
 filius cum exercitu; et polluent
 sanctuarium, auferentque jube
 sacrificium, et templum tradent
 æternæ solitudini. Hieron. ibid.

(1) Mede’s

‘the Romans, of whom it was said above that *the*
 ‘*ships of Chittim shall come, and he shall be grieved.*
 ‘After some time, says the prophet, out of the
 ‘Romans themselves, who came to assist Pto-
 ‘lemy, and menaced Antiochus, there shall
 ‘arise the emperor Vespasian, there shall arise
 ‘his arms and seed, his son Titus with an army;
 ‘and they shall pollute the sanctuary, and take
 ‘away the daily sacrifice, and deliver the
 ‘temple to eternal desolation.’ Mr. Mede too
 (1) assigns the same reason for the prophet’s
 passing from Antiochus Epiphanes to the Ro-
 mans. “We must know, says he, that after
 “the death of Antiochus Epiphanes the third
 “kingdom comes no more in the holy reck-
 “oning, none of the Greek kings after him
 “being at all prophesied of; yea Daniel him-
 “self calling the time of Antiochus his reign
 “*the latter end of the Greek kingdom.* (VIII. 23.)
 “The reason of this is, because during the reign
 “of

(1) Mede’s Works, B. 4.
 Epist. 41. p. 797. See too B. 3.
 p. 667, 672. Lucius Florus,
 Lib. 2. Cap. 7. Cedente Han-
 nibale, præmium victoriæ Africa
 fuit, et secutus Africam terrarum
 orbis. Post Carthaginem
 vinci neminem puduit; secutæ
 sunt statim Africam Gentes, Ma-
 cedonia, Græcia, Syria, cætera-
 que omnia, quodam quasi æstu
 et torrente fortunæ; sed primi

omnium Macedones, affectator
 quondam imperii populus. Han-
 nibal being worsted, Africa be-
 came the reward of the victory,
 and after Africa the whole world
 also. None thought it a shame
 to be overcome, after Carthage
 was. Macedonia, Greece, Sy-
 ria, and all other nations, as if
 carried with a certain current
 and torrent of fortune, did soon
 follow Africa: But the first who
 followed

“ of Antiochus, Macedonia (whence that king-
 “ dom sprung) with all the rest of Greece, came
 “ under the Roman obedience. From thence
 “ therefore the holy Ghost begins the rise of the
 “ fourth kingdom, yea the Roman historians
 “ themselves mark out that time for the rise of
 “ their empire.” And for this purpose he
 alleges two quotations from Lucius Florus and
 Velleius Paterculus. Our Saviour himself
 making use of this same phrase *the abomination*
of desolation in his prediction of the destruc-
 tion of Jerusalem, may convince us that this
 part of the prophecy refers to that event.

What follows can be but in part applied to
 the times of Antiochus Epiphanes. *And such*
as do wickedly against the covenant, shall be cor-
rupt by flatteries: but the people that do know
their God, shall be strong, and do exploits. And
they that understand among the people, shall instruct
many: yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame,
by

followed were the Macedonians,
 a people that sometime affected
 the empire of the world. In
 Velleius Paterculus, Lib. 1.
 Cap. 6. is an annotation out of
 one Æmilius Sura in these words;
 Assyrii principes omnium gen-
 tium rerum potiti sunt, deinde
 Medi, postea Persæ, deinde Ma-
 cedones; exinde duobus regi-
 bus, Philippo et Antiocho, qui a
 Macedonibus oriundi erant,
 haud multo post Carthaginem

subactam, devictis, summa im-
 perii ad populum Romanum
 pervenit. The Assyrians had the
 sovereign dominion the first of
 all nations, then the Medes and
 Persians; after them the Mace-
 donians; afterwards those two
 kings, Philip and Antiochus,
 being overcome, and that a lit-
 tle after that Carthage was sub-
 dued, the imperial power came
 to the Romans.

(2) Sunt

by captivity, and by spoil many days. (ver. 32, 33.) If it may be said of Antiochus, that he *corrupted many by flatteries*, by rewards and promises, to forsake the holy covenant, and to conform to the religion of the Greeks; *but the people who knew their God*, the Maccabees and their associates, *were strong, and did exploits*: Yet it cannot so properly be said of the Maccabees, or any of the devout Jews of their time, that they did *instruct many*, and make many proselytes to their religion; neither did the persecution, which Antiochus raised against the Jews, continue *many days*, or years according to the prophetic stile, for it lasted only a few years. All these things are much more truly applicable to the Christian Jews: for now the daily sacrifice was taken away, the temple was given to desolation, and the Christian church had succeeded in the place of the Jewish, the new covenant in the room of the old. *And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall be corrupt by flatteries*; He, that is the power before described, who *took away the daily sacrifice, and placed the abomination of desolation*: nor is such a change of number unfrequent in the Hebrew lan-

(2) Sunt qui putent hic prophetam aspicere ad Christianos, quos impii idolatræ conati fue-

runt ab initio nascentis ecclesiæ seducere blanditiis. Potissimè autem sæviit tyrannorum persecutio

language. ‘ There are some, faith an (2) old
 ‘ commentator, who think that the prophet
 ‘ here had respect to the Christians, whom the
 ‘ wicked idolaters endeavored from the beginning
 ‘ of the rising church to seduce by flatteries: but
 ‘ the persecution of tyrants raged chiefly against
 ‘ the apostles, and holy teachers.’ The Roman
 magistrates and officers, it is very well known,
 made use of the most alluring promises, as well
 as of the most terrible threatnings, to prevail
 upon the primitive Christians to renounce their
 religion, and offer incense to the statues of the
 emperors and images of the gods. Many were
 induced to comply with the temptation, and
 apostatized from the faith, as we learn particu-
 larly from the famous (3) epistle of Pliny to
 Trajan: but the true Christians, *the people who*
knew their God were strong, remained firm to
 their religion, and gave the most illustrious
 proofs of the most heroic patience and fortitude.
 It may too with the strictest truth and propriety
 be said of the primitive Christians, that being
 dispersed every where, and preaching the
 gospel in all the parts of the Roman empire,
 they *instructed many*, and gained a great number
 of

cutio in apostolos et sanctos
 doctores. Clarius in locum.

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(3) Plinii Epist. Lib. 10.
 Epist. 97.

M

(4) Par.

of profelytes to their religion: yet they fell by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil many days; for they were exposed to the malice and fury of ten general persecutions, and suffered all manner of injuries, afflictions, and tortures with little intermission for the space of three hundred years.

After these violent persecutions the church obtained some rest and relaxation. *Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help; but many shall cleave to them with flatteries. And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end; because it is yet for a time appointed.* (ver. 34, 35.) Here Porphyry hath many followers, besides Grotius; and he (4) supposeth that by *the little help* was meant Mattathias of Modin, who rebelled against the generals of Antiochus, and endeavored to preserve the worship of the true God. It is called *a little help*, saith he, because Mattathias was slain in battle; and afterwards his son Judas, who was called Maccabæus, fell in fight; and his other brethren were deceived by the fraud
of

(4) Parvulum auxilium, Mattathiam significari arbitratur Porphyrius de vico Modin; qui adversum duces Antiochi rebellavit, et cultum veri Dei ser-

vare conatus est. Parvum autem, inquit, auxilium vocat, quia occisus est in prælio Mattathias; et postea Judas filius ejus, qui vocabatur Maccabæus, pugnans cecidit;

of their adversaries. But this is not an exact or just representation of the case. Mattathias (5) was not slain in battle, but died of old age. His son Judas Maccabæus several times vanquished the generals of Antiochus, recovered the holy city, cleansed the sanctuary, restored the public worship of God, and not only survived Antiochus some years, but also received the good news of the dethroning and murdering of his son. His brother Jonathan was made high priest, and his brother Simon sovran prince of the Jews; and both these dignities, the high-priesthood and the sovranity, descended to Simon's son, and continued united in the family for several generations. That therefore could not be deemed *a little help*, which prevailed and triumphed over all the power and malice of the enemy, and established the Jewish religion and government upon a firmer basis than before; so far were they from falling again into a state of persecution, as the next verse intimates that they should. It may be concluded then, that Porphyry was mistaken in the sense of this passage. The Jewish doctors seem to have come nearer the

cecidit; et cæteri fratres ejus
adversariorum fraude decepti
sunt. Hieron. Col. 1130.

two books of Maccabees, Josephus, Usher, Prideaux, &c
must be consulted.

(5) For these particulars the

M 2

(6) Hebræ-

the mark: for some of them, as Jerome (6) affirms, understood these things of the emperors Severus and Antoninus, who much loved the Jews; and others, of the emperor Julian, who pretended to love the Jews, and promised to sacrifice in their temple. But the most natural way of interpretation is to follow the course and series of events. The church had now labored under long and severe persecutions from the civil power. They had *fallen by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil many days*. The tenth and last general persecution was begun (7) by Diocletian: it raged, tho' not at all times equally, ten years; and was suppressed entirely by Constantine, the first Roman emperor, as it is universally known, who made open profession of Christianity; and then the church was no longer persecuted, but was protected and favored by the civil power. But still this is called only *a little help*; because though it added much to the temporal prosperity, yet

(6) Hebræorum quidam hæc de Severo et Antonino principibus intelligunt, qui Judæos plurimum dilexerunt. Alii vero de Juliano imperatore:--Judæos amare se simulans, et in templo eorum immolaturum se esse promittens. Hieron. *ibid.*

(7) Eusebii Eccles. Hist. Lib. 8. Cap. 2, & 15, &c. Lactant. de Mort. Persecut. Cap. 12, & 48. Sic ab eversa ecclesia usque ad restitutam fuerunt anni decem, &c.

(8) ——— εἰρωνείαν τ' ἀλεκτον τῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑποδυσμενῶν, καὶ τὸ χριστιανῶν

yet it contributed little to the spiritual graces and virtues of Christians. It enlarged their revenues, and increased their indowments; but proved the fatal means of corrupting the doctrine, and relaxing the discipline of the church. It was attended with this peculiar disadvantage, that *many clove to them with flatteries*. Many became Christians for the sake of the loaves and the fishes, and pretended to be of the religion, only because it was the religion of the emperor. Eusebius, who was a contemporary writer, (8) reckons that one of the reigning vices of the time was the dissimulation and hypocrisy of men fraudulently entering into the church, and borrowing the name of Christians without the reality. Julian himself, as a (9) heathen historian relates, that he might allure the Christians to favor him, publicly professed the faith, from which he had long ago privately revolted; and even went to church, and joined with them in the most solemn offices of religion. He did more; his dissimu-

χριστιανων επιπλατως σχηματιζομε-
νων ονομα.--et fraudulentam simu-
lationem, eorum qui callide in
ecclesiam irrepebant, et Christi-
anorum nomen falsò ac specie
tenus præferebant. Euseb. de
vita Const. Lib. 4. Cap. 54.

(9) Utque omnes, nullo im-

pediente, ad sui favorem illice-
ret, adhærere cultui Christiano
fingebat, a quo jam pridem oc-
cultè desciverat — Et -- progressus
in eorum ecclesiam, sollemniter
numine orato discessit. Ammian.
Marcell. Lib. 21. Cap. 2. p.
266. Edit. Valesii. Paris. 1681.

M 3

(1) Theo-

diffimulation carried him so far as to (1) become an ecclesiastic in lower orders, or a *reader* in the church. Moreover, this is also called a *little help*, because the temporal peace and prosperity of the church lasted but a little while, The spirit of persecution presently revived; and no sooner were the Christians delivered from the fury of their heathen adversaries, than they began to quarrel among themselves, and to persecute one another. The (2) Consubstantialists, even in the time of Constantine, led the way by excommunicating and banishing the Arians. The latter, under the favor of Constantius and Valens more than retorted the injury, and were guilty of many horrible outrages and cruelties towards the former. Such more or less hath been the fate and condition of the church ever since: and generally speaking, *those of understanding have fallen a sacrifice to others, some of the best and wisest men to some of the worst and most ignorant.* At least, if the persecuted have not been always in the right, yet the persecutors have been always in the

the

(1) Theodoret Eccles. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 1.—και τε των αναγνωσων ηξιωθη χορη, και τας ιερας βιβλους εν ταις εκκλησιαστικαις συλλογαις υπαναγκασκε τω λαω. in lectorum numerum adscriptus

est, et sacros libros in ecclesiasticis conventibus populo recitavit.

(2) See Socrates, Sozomen, &c. and Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History. Vol. 3. p. 104, 105.

(3) Ab

the wrong. These calamities were to befall the Christians, *to try them, and to purge, and to make them white*, not only at that time, but *even to the time of the end, because it is yet for a time appointed*: And we see even at this day, not to allege other instances, how the poor protestants are persecuted, plunder'd and murder'd, in the southern parts of France.

The principal source of these persecutions is traced out in the following verses. *And the king (who shall cause these persecutions) shall do according to his will, and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvelous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished; for that that is determined, shall be done.* (ver. 36.) From this place, as (3) Jerome asserts, the Jews as well as the Christians of his time understood all to be spoken of Antichrist. But Porphyry and others who follow him, suppose it to be spoken of Antiochus Epiphanes, that he should be exalted against the worship of God, and grow to that highth of pride, that he should

(3) Ab hoc loco Judæi dici de Antichristo putant—Quod quidem et nos de Antichristo intelligimus. Porphyrius autem et cæteri qui sequuntur eum, de Antiocho Epiphane dici ar-

bitrantur, quod erectus sit contra cultum Dei, et in tantam superbiam venerit, ut in templo Jerosolymis simulacrum suum poni jusserit. Hieron. Col. 1131.

should command his statue to be placed in the temple at Jerusalem. But if it might be said of Antiochus, that he *spoke marvelous things against the God of Israel*; yet it could not be so well affirmed of him, that he *magnified and exalted himself above every god*; when (4) in his public sacrifices and worship of the gods he was more sumptuous and magnificent than all who reigned before him; and when in his solemn shows and processions were carried the images of all who among men were called or reputed gods, or demons, and even heroes; as Athenæus reports out of Polybius. He was certainly very superstitious, tho' sometimes his extravagances and necessities might induce him to commit sacrilege. It is a strong argument in favor of the Jewish and Christian interpretation, that St. Paul appears to have understood this passage much in the same manner, because he applies the same expressions (2 Theff. II. 3, 4.) to the man of sin, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called god, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he

is

(4) εν δε ταις προς τας πολεις
δυσiais, και ταις προς της διεσ τι-
μαις, παντας υπεριβαλλε τες βε-
βασιλευκοτας, omnes quotquot
regnarunt, sacrorum magnifi-

centia, quæ illius sumptu in
claris urbibus fiebant, cultuque
ac veneratione deorum exupe-
rassæ. παντων γαρ των παρ' ανθρω-
ποις λεγομενων η νομιζομενων θεων η
δαι-

is God. The third of the prophecy will also conduct us to the same conclusion. For the prophet was speaking of the persecutions, which should be permitted for the trial and probation of the church, after the empire was become christian : and now he proceeds to describe the principal author of these persecutions. *A king or kingdom*, as we have shown before, and it appears in several instances, signifies any government, state or potentate : and the meaning of this verse we conceive to be, that after the empire was become christian, there should spring up in the church an antichristian power, that should act in the most absolute and arbitrary manner, exalt itself above all laws divine and human, dispense with the most solemn and sacred obligations, and in many respects injoin what God had forbidden, and forbid what God had commanded. This power began in the Roman emperors, who summoned councils, and directed and influenced their determinations almost as they pleased. After the division of the empire, this power still increased, and was exerted principally by the Greek emperors in the

δαίμονων, προσέτι δὲ ἡρώων, εἰδωλὰ
 διηγέλο. omnium enim quotquot
 apud homines vel creduntur vel
 dicuntur esse dii, aut dæmones,

atque adeo heroum simulacra
 gestabantur. Polyb. apud Athen.
 Lib. 5. p. 194, 195. Edit. Ca-
 faubon.

(5) Cum

the east, and by the bishops of Rome in the west; as we shall see in the several particulars hereafter specified by the prophet. This power too was to continue in the church, and *prosper till the indignation be accomplished; for that that is determined, shall be done.* This must denote some particular period; or otherwise it is no more than saying, that God's indignation shall not be accomplished till it be accomplished. This is the same as what before was called (VIII. 19.) *the last end of the indignation*, and (IX. 27.) *the consummation*: and it meaneth the last end and consummation of God's indignation against his people the Jews. This seemeth to be expressed plainer in the following chapter, (ver. 7.) *And when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished.* So long this antichristian power should continue. We see it still subsisting in the church of Rome: and it was an ancient tradition among the Jewish doctors, that the destruction of Rome and the restoration of the Jews should fall out about the same period. It is a saying of the famous rabbi David Kimchi in his comment upon Obadiah,

(5) Cum devastabitur Roma, erit Israeli redemptio. See Mede's Works. B. 5. Cap. 7. Placita doctorum Hebræorum de Babylonis seu Romæ exci-

dio. p. 902,

(6) 1 Macc. I. 41—64. 2 Macc. VI. 1, &c. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 5. Sect. 4.

P. 533.

Obadiah, (5) when Rome shall be laid waste, there shall be redemption for Israel. The curious reader may see more authorities cited by Mr. Mede in a small Latin tractate upon this subject.

In this prophecy the antichristian power is described as exerted principally in the eastern empire, it was before described as exerted in the western empire, under the figure of *the little horn* of the fourth beast. *Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any God; for he shall magnify himself above all.* (ver. 37.) That he should *not regard the God of his fathers*, could not be truly affirmed of Antiochus, (6) who compelled all, and especially the Jews and Samaritans, to conform their worship to the religion of the Greeks: and what were the idols that he set up among them, but the Grecian deities, as Jupiter Olympius in the temple of Jerusalem, and Jupiter Xenius, or the defender of strangers, in the temple of the Samaritans? This therefore, as Jerome rightly observes, agrees better with Antichrist than with Antiochus. By *not regarding the God of his fathers*, Mr. Mede (7) understands the Roman

p. 533. Edit. Hudson. Hoc magis Antichristo quam Antiocho convenit. Legimus enim Antiochum idolorum Græciæ habuisse cultum, et Judæos atque Sama-

ritas ad venerationem suorum deorum compulsisse. Hieron. ibid.

(7) Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 668.

(8)—lux.

Roman state's cashiering and casting off the pagan deities and heathen gods which were worshipped in their empire. But the conversion of the Roman state was hinted before, (ver. 34.) and other events have been pointed out since; so that it would be breaking in upon the series and order of the prophecy, to resume that subject again. The character too here given, doth not seem in any part of it, to be designed by way of commendation. It is not mentioned to the honor, but to the reproach of the power here described, that he should forsake the religion of his ancestors, and in a manner set up a new religion. It was not the prophet's intention to praise him for renouncing the idolatry of his heathen fathers, but to blame him for apostatizing in some measure from the religion of his christian fathers; as he did actually both in the Greek and Latin church, by worshipping *Mabuzzim* instead of the true God blessed for ever. Another property of the power here described is, that he should *not regard the desire of women*: And neither could this with any truth be declared

(8) — *luxuriosissimus fuisse dicitur, et in tantum dedecus per stupra et corruptelas venisse regæ dignitatis; ut mimis quoque et scortis publice jungeretur, et libidinem suam*

populo præsentè compleret. Hieron. ibid. Vide etiam Theodoret. in locum. p. 689. 2 Macc. IV. 30.

(9) *de Antichristo facilior interpretatio est; quod ideo simulet*

clared of Antiochus, who besides having a wife, (8) was lewd and vicious to such a degree, that he had no regard to common decency, but would prostitute his royal dignity, and gratify and indulge his lusts publicly in the presence of the people. He had a favorite concubine, whom he called after his own name Antiochis. To her he assigned two cities in Cilicia, Tarsus and Mallus for her maintenance; and the inhabitants, rather than they would submit to such an indignity, rebelled against him. As Jerome says, (9) the interpretation is easier of Antichrist, that he should therefore counterfeit chastity, that he might deceive many. In the Vulgar Latin it is indeed (1) *And he shall regard the desire of women*: but this reading is plainly contrary to the original, and to most other versions; unless with Grotius we understand the copulative *and*, when it follows a negative, as becoming a negative too, and signifying *neither*. Grotius explains it of Antiochus, (2) that he should not spare even women: but the words in the original will not by any fair construction admit of

simulet castitatem, ut plurimos decipiat. Hieron. ibid.

(1) *Et erit in concupiscentiis foeminarum. Vulg.*

(2) *Apud Hebræos 1 negati-
vam sequens negat, et valet*

*nec, ut sensus sit, neque desiderium mulierum, id est, neque fami-
nas, quanquam amabiles, cu-
rabit quicquam, nulla sexus
illius tangetur misericordia.
Grot. in locum.*

(3) See

of this interpretation. The word in the original for *women* (3) signifieth properly *wives*, as *desire* doth *conjugal affection*. The meaning therefore of *not regarding the desire of women* is neglecting and discouraging marriage; as both the Greeks and Latins did to the great detriment of human society, and to the great discredit of the christian religion. The Julian and Papian laws which were enacted in the most flourishing times of the Romans for the favor and encouragement of those who were married, and had children, (4) Constantine himself repealed, and allowed equal or greater privileges and immunities to those who were unmarried and had no children. Nay he (5) held in the highest veneration those men, who had devoted themselves to the divine philosophy, that is to a monastic life; and almost adored the most holy company of perpetual virgins, being convinced that

(3) See Mede's Works. B. 3. p. 668. And it might have been translated in this place *desire of wives*, as well as *desire of women*; for there is no other word used in the original for *wives* above once or twice in the whole scripture, but this אִשָּׁה which is here turned *women*. With the like use of the word *desire*, the spouse in the Canticles VII. 10. expresseth her well beloved to be her husband; *I am my be-*

loved's and his desire is towards me; that is, he is my husband; for so twice before she expressed herself, II. 16. *My beloved is mine, and I am his*; and VI. 3. *I am my beloved's, and my beloved is mine*. So Ezek. XXIV. 16. the Lord threatening to take away Ezekiel's wife, saith, *Behold, I take away from thee the desire of thine eyes* כַּחֲמַד עֵינֶיךָ. and afterwards ver. 18. it followeth, *And at even my wife died*.

that the God, to whom they had consecrated themselves, did dwell in their minds. His example was followed by his successors: and the married clergy were discountenanced and depressed; the monks were honored and advanced; and in the fourth century like a torrent overran the eastern church, and soon after the western too. This was *evidently not regarding the desire of wives*, or conjugal affection. At first only second marriages were prohibited, but in time the clergy were absolutely restrained from marrying at all. So much did the power here described *magnify himself above all*, even God himself, by contradicting the primary law of God and nature; and making that dishonorable, which the scripture (Hebr. XIII. 4.) hath pronounced *honorable in all*.

More proofs are alleged in the next verse, of his apostatizing from the true religion of his
ancef-

died. Yea, the Roman language itself is not unacquainted with this speech. Cicero ad uxorem, *En mea lux, meum desiderium.*

(4) Euseb. de Vit. Constantini Lib. 4. Cap. 26. Sozomen, Lib. 1. Cap. 9. Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. Hist. Vol. 3. p. 231.

(5) διαφερόντως δ' ἡξίωτο τιμῆς πλείονος, τῆς τὸν σφῶν βίον τῇ κατὰ Θεὸν ἀναδεντῆς φιλοσοφίᾳ· τὸν ὡν παταγίον τῶν αἰετῶν παρ' αὐτῶν τῷ Θεῷ

χορον, μοναχῇ καὶ σεβῶν διέλει, ταῖς τῶν τοιῶνδε ψυχαῖς, εὐοίχον αὐτὸν ὑπαρχειν ὃ καὶ διερωτῶσαν ἑαυτὰς Θεὸν περὶδομενός, Præ cæteris vero eos maxime honorabat, qui se totos divinæ philosophiæ addixissent. Ipsum quidem sanctissimum perpetuarum Dei virginum cætum tantum non venerabatur, cum ipsum cui se consacrerant Deum, in earum mentibus habitare, pro certo haberet. Euseb. ibid. Cap. 28.

(6) Deum

ancestors. *But in his estate shall he honor the God of forces, or Mahuzzim; and a God whom his fathers knew not, shall he honor with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things.* (ver. 3.) How can this with any propriety, or with any degree of sense, be applied to Antiochus? The God Mahuzzim, as (6) Jerome remarks, Porphyry hath ridiculously interpreted the God of Modin, the town from whence came Mattathias and his sons, and where the generals of Antiochus compelled the Jews to sacrifice to Jupiter, that is, to the God of Modin. *The God whom his fathers knew not*, Grotius also (7) says, was Baal Semen, who was the same as Jupiter Olympius: but if so, how was he unknown to the Macedonians? It is necessary therefore to conclude with Jerome, that (8) this likewise agrees better with Antichrist than with Antiochus. The word *Mahuzzim* is taken personally, and is retained (9) in several translations. It is derived from (1) a radical verb

(6) Deum *Maozim* ridicule Porphyrius interpretatus est, ut diceret in vico Modin, unde fuit Mattathias et filii ejus, Antiochi duces Jovis posuisse statuas, et compulisse Judæos, ut ei victimas immolarent, id est, Deo Modin. Hieron. *ibid.*

(7) Is Deus est summus Phœ-

nium Deus *Baal Semen*, quem Græci appellant *Jovem Olympium*, quasi translato nomine. Grot. in locum.

(8) Hoc magis Antichristo quam Antiocho convenit. Hieron. *ibid.*

(9) Καὶ θεὸν μαῦζιμα ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ

verb signifying *he was strong*; and the proper meaning of it is *munitions, bulwarks, fortresses*: but the Hebrews often using abstracts for concretes, it signifies equally *protectors, defenders, and guardians*, as Mr. Mede (2) hath shown in several instances. This being the derivation and signification of the word, the verse may literally be translated thus, *And the god Mabuzzim in his estate shall be honor; even a god whom his fathers knew not, shall be honor with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and desireable things.* There are examples of the same construction in other parts of scripture, as particularly in Psal. LXXXVI. 9. *they shall glorify thy name*; where (3) in the original the verb and particle prefixed to the noun are the same as in this passage. But if it be thought requisite to separate *God* and *Mabuzzim*, and to express the force of the particle *ל*, then the verse may be translated thus, *And with God, or instead of God, Mabuzzim in his estate shall be honor; even with God, or instead of God, those*

αὐτὸς δοξασί. Sept. Deum autem Maozim in loco suo venerabitur. Vulg. Lat.

(1) מַעֲזָה Robur, Item, Arx, Munio, a מָצָה Roboravit, Roboravit se, Roboratus fuit. Buxtorf.

(2) Mede's Works, B. 3. p. VOL. II.

669, 670. Wherefore the Septuagint five times in the Psalms render the word מַעֲזָה *Maboz* ὑπερασπιστής, and the Vulgar Latin as often *protector*. The places are these; Psal. XXVII. 1. XXVIII. 8. XXXI. 3, 5. XXXVII. 39.

(3) כְּבֹדוֹ לְשִׁמְךָ glorificabunt nomen tuum.

N

(4) אִשֶּׁר

(4) *those whom his fathers knew not shall be honored with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and desirable things.* However it be translated, the meaning evidently is, that he should establish the worship of *Mabuzzim*, of *protectors*, *defenders*, and *guardians*. He should worship them as God, or with God: and who is there so little acquainted with ecclesiastical history, as not to know that the worship of *saints* and *angels* was established both in the Greek and Latin church? They were not only invoked and adored as patrons, intercessors, and guardians of mankind; but festival days were instituted to them; miracles were ascribed to them; churches were erected to them; their very relics were worshipped; and their shrines and images were adorned with the most costly offerings, and *honored with gold and silver, and with precious stones and desirable things.* And what renders the completion of the prophecy still

(4) אֲשֶׁר often signifies *ille qui, illi qui*, as in Numb. XXII. 6. Ruth. II. 2. Gen. VII. 23. Josh. XVII. 16. 1 Sam. XXX. 27, 28, 29, 30, 31. The accusative case is placed before the verb, as מַעֲרִיב is in the former period; and otherwise there is no accusative case governed by the verb יִכְבֵּד.

(5) Mede's Works. B. 3. p. 673, 674. Sir Is. Newton's Observations on Daniel. Chap. 14.

(9) ἀσείσουσιν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ταύτην, φεθερμένην τοῖς μεγάλαις πυργοῖς τῶν μαρτύρων διατηρήσει. ecclesiam hanc quæ magnis martyrum turribus munitur, custodiat

still more remarkable is, that they were celebrated and adored under the title of *Mabuzzim*, of *bulwarks* and *fortresses*, of *protectors* and *guardians* of mankind. Mr. Mede and Sir Isaac Newton (5) have proved this point by a great variety of authorities cited from the fathers and other ancient writers. It may be proper to recite some of the principal. Basil a monk, who was made bishop of Cæsarea in the year 369, and died in the year 378, concludes his oration upon the martyr Mamas with praying, ‘ that (6) ‘ God would preserve the church of Cæsarea ‘ unshaken, *being guarded with the great towers ‘ of the martyrs.*’ In his oration upon the forty martyrs, whose relics were dispersed in all places thereabouts; ‘ These are they, (7) saith ‘ he, who having taken possession of our coun- ‘ try, *as certain conjoined towers*, secure it from ‘ the incursions of our enemies:’ and he farther invokes them, ‘ O ye common keepers of man- ‘ kind,

custodiat inconcussam. Basil. Op. Vol. 2. p. 189. Edit. Benedict.

(7) οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ τὴν καθ’ ἡμᾶς χώραν διαλαβόντες, διονοῦν πύργους τινες συνεχείς, ασφαλείαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων καταδρομῆς παρεχόμενοι. Hi sunt qui regionem nostram obtinentes, veluti den-

sus hostium incursum tuto communiunt. ibid. p. 155. ω κοινὰς φυλακὰς τῆ γῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀγαθοὶ κοινῶς φροντίζον, διησιῶς συνεργοί, πρεσβεύται δυνατωτάτοι, κ. τ. λ. O communes generis humani custodes, boni curarum socii, precum fautores, legati potentissimi, &c. p. 156.

‘ kind, good companions of our cares, coadjutors of
 ‘ our prayers, most powerful ambassadors to God,
 ‘ &c.’ Chrysostome in his thirty-second homily upon the Epistle to the Romans, speaking of the relics of Peter and Paul, ‘ This corps,
 ‘ (8) saith he, meaning of Paul, fortifies that
 ‘ city of Rome *more strongly than any tower, or*
 ‘ *than ten thousand rampires*, as also doth the
 ‘ corps of Peter.’ Are not these strong *Ma-*
buzzim? In his homily likewise upon the
 Egyptian martyrs he speaketh (9) after this manner, ‘ The bodies of these saints fortify our
 ‘ city *more strongly than any impregnable wall of*
 ‘ *adamant*; and *as certain high rocks* prominent
 ‘ on every side, not only repel the assaults of
 ‘ these enemies who fall under the senses and
 ‘ are seen within the eyes, but also subvert and
 ‘ dissipate the snares of invisible demons, and
 ‘ all the stratagems of the devil.’ Hilary also
 will

(8) τὸ τοῦ σώματος τειχίζει τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, ὁ πάντος πυργῶς καὶ μυρίων ἐστὶ περιβολῶν ἀσφαλεστερόν· καὶ μίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Πέτρου. Hoc corpus urbem illam quasi mœniis cingit, quod omni turre et vallis innumeris tutius est: et cum hoc etiam Petri corpus. Chrysost. Op. Vol. 9. p. 759. Edit. Benedict.

(9) τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἁγίων σωματὰ τῶν τειχῶς πάντος ἀδαμαντός καὶ ἀρξάγης, ἀσφαλεστερόν ἡμῖν

τειχίζει τὴν πόλιν· καὶ καθάπερ σκοπεῖλοι τινες ὑψηλοὶ προεβλημένοι πανταχοθεν, ἔχουσιν τὰς τῶν αἰσθητῶν τῶν τῶν, καὶ ὁρωμένων ἐχθρῶν προσβολὰς ἀποκρῖναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τῶν αἰσθητῶν δαιμονῶν ἐπιβολὰς, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν διαβολὴν μεθοδεῖαν ἀναλίσκωσι, καὶ διαλύουσιν. Sanctorum enim horum corpora quovis adamantino et inexpugnabili muro tutius nobis urbem muniunt; et tamquam excelsi quidam scopuli undique pro-

will tell us, that neither the *guards* of saints, nor [angelorum munitiones] the *bulwarks* of angels are wanting to those who are willing to stand. Here *angels* are *Mabuzzim*, as *saints* were before. The Greeks at this day, in their Preces Horariæ, thus invoke the blessed virgin, ‘ O thou virgin mother of God, thou impregnable wall, thou *fortress* of salvation [שועות מעון Psal. 28.] we call upon thee, that thou wouldst frustrate the purposes of our enemies, and be a *fence* to this city:’ thus they go on, calling her *The Hope, Safeguard, and Sanctuary of Christians*. Gregory Nyssen in his third oration upon the forty martyrs calleth them [δορυφοροι και υπερασπισται] *guarders and protectors*: Eucherius his St. Gervase *the perpetual* [propugnator] *protector of the faithful*. Theodoret (1) calleth the holy martyrs *Guardians of cities, Lieutenants of places, Captains of men, Princes, Champions*

prominentes, non horum, qui sub sensus cadunt, et oculis cernuntur, hostium impetus propulsant tantum, sed etiam invisibilium dæmonum insidias omnesque diaboli fraudes subvertunt, ac dissipant. Ibid. Vol. 2. p. 699.

(1) και ως πολιρχης τιμωσι και φυλακας, veneranturque tanquam urbium præfides atque custodes. αυτοι γε εισιν ατεχνως προμοι αν-

δρωπων, και προμαχοι, και επικυροι, και των κακων αποτροπαιοι, τας υπο των δαιμονων επιφερομενας αποδιοπομπεμεισι βλαβας. Hi sunt vere hominum duces, et propugnatores, et auxiliores, malorumque depulsores, damna, quæ a dæmonibus infliguntur, procul arcetes. Theod. Op. Vol. 4. de Græcarum affectionum Curatione. Serm. 8. p. 593, 594, 600. Edit. Paris. 1642.

Dissertations on the PROPHECIES.

Champions and Guardians, by whom disasters are turned from us, and those which come from devils debarred and driven away. By these and other authorities it appears, not only that *Mabuzzim* were worshipped, but that they were worshipped likewise as *Mabuzzim*. This superstition began to prevail in the fourth century; and in the eighth century, in the year 787, the worship of images and the like was fully established by the seventh general council, and the second which was held at Nice: such different fortune attended that city, that there the first general council established orthodoxy, and there also the seventh established idolatry by law.

Other instances of his regard to *Mabuzzim* are produced in the next verse. *Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge, and increase with glory: and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain.* (ver. 39.) Porphyry (2) explains this of Antiochus fortifying the city of Jerusalem, and placing garrisons in the other cities, and persuading the people to worship Jupiter; and then giving much honor

(2) Quod Porphyrius ita edifferit: faciet hæc omnia, ut muniat arcem Jerusalem, et in cæteris urbibus ponat præsidia, et Judæos doceat adorare Deum alienum: haud dubium quin Jovem significet. Quem quum illis ostenderit, et adorandum esse

honor and glory to those whom he had so persuaded, and causing them to rule over the other Jews, and dividing possessions and distributing rewards to them for their prevarication. But if all the rest could be accommodated to Antiochus, how could Jupiter whom he had always worshipped, be called *a strange god whom he shall acknowledge*? The worship of *Mabuzzim* was indeed the worship of a strange god both to those who imposed it, and to those who received it in the christian church. But for the better understanding of this part of the prophecy, it may be proper to propose a more literal translation of it. *Thus shall he do; to the defenders of Mabuzzim, together with the strange god whom he shall acknowledge, he shall multiply honor; and he shall cause them to rule over many, and the earth he shall divide for a reward.* Mr. Mede's (3) translation is somewhat different: but I conceive it is neither so literal, nor so just to the original. *And he shall make the holds of the Mabuzzim with- all (or jointly) to the foreign god, whom acknowledging he shall increase with honor; and shall cause them to rule over many, and shall distribute the*

esse persuaserit: tunc dabit de-
ceptis honorem, et gloriam plu-
rimam: et faciet cæteris qui in
Judæa fuerint dominari, et pro

prævaricatione possessiones divi-
det, et dona distribuet. Hieron.
Col. 1132.

(3) Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 667.

(4) ועשה

the earth for a reward. Let us examin and compare the translations together. In our bible-translation it is, *Thus shall he do in the most strong holds, or as we read in the margin, in the fortresses of munitions, with a strange god:* but here *Mabuzzim* is not taken personally, as it was in the foregoing verse. Mr. Mede translates it thus, *And he shall make the holds of the Mabuzzim withall* (or jointly) *to the foreign god:* but then he doth not exprefs the force of the particle prefixed to *holds* in the Hebrew, which ought not to be neglected. *Whom he shall acknowlege and increase with glory,* says our bible-translation: but there is no conjunction like *and* before *increase*, and no preposition like *with* before *glory* in the original. Mr. Mede hath avoided the former objection by changing the verb into a participle, *Whom acknowleging he shall increase with honor;* but the latter objection remains still in its full strength. The latter part is much the same in all translations: but in our bible-translation there is nothing to which *them* can be referred, *And he shall cause them to rule over many;* for it cannot well be said, that *he shall cause* the strong holds

(4) ועשה Sic faciet.

(5) למבצרי מעוזים propugnatoribus Mahuzzimorum.

(6) למבצרי מעוזים custodibus Maozim ex בצר. significatu

Arabico, *videre, esse intelligentem*, ut significantur sacerdotes, qui dei istius cultum callebant, atque in eo populum instituebant. Liqueat ex verbo
המשילים

holds *to rule over many*. Let us now consider, how these inconveniences may be wholly avoided by a new translation. Thus (4) *shall he do*; So the same words are translated ver. 30; but then here a stop is to be made. To (5) *the defenders of Mabuzzim*, or *to the priests of Mabuzzim*: Here the force of the particle is expressed; here again the abstract is used for the concrete as in the foregoing verse, *holds* or *fortresses* for *defenders* and *supporters*, or *priests* as it may be translated; and this notion of the word I find (6) approved and confirmed by Father Houbigant. It is manifest, that persons must be meant, because they are said afterwards *to rule over many*. Together (7) *with the strange god whom he shall acknowledge*: This is the most usual signification of the preposition; and if *Mabuzzim* be not considered as *the strange god*, it is difficult to say who *the strange god* is. He (8) *shall multiply honor*: Here is no conjunction, nor preposition inserted without authority from the original. *He shall multiply honor*: the noun is the same as the verb in the verse preceding, *he shall honor*. *He shall multiply honor* to the defen-

הַמִּשִּׁילִם *dominos faciebat eos*,
notari in vocabulo מַבְצָרִים *personas*, non munitiones. Houbigant
in locum.

(7) עִם אֱלֹהִים נִכְרַח אֲשֶׁר

הַכִּיד *una cum deo alieno quem agnoscet.*

(8) יִרְבֶּה כְּבֹד *multiplicabit honorem.* Ver. 38. יִכְבֹּד *honorabit.*

בְּרַבִּים (9)

defenders and champions of Mahuzzim, as well as to Mahuzzim themselves. Deifying Mahuzzim, he shall also glorify their priests and ministers: (9) *and he shall cause them to rule over many, and the earth he shall divide for a reward.* The prophecy thus expounded, the completion becomes obvious and evident to the meanest capacity. The defenders and champions of Mahuzzim were the monks, and priests, and bishops: and of them it may most truly and properly be said, that they were *increased with honor, that they ruled over many, and divided the land for gain.* Mr. Mede (1) applies the latter part to the Mahuzzim themselves: and he paraphrases it after this manner; “ Yea he shall distribute the earth among his Mahuzzim; so that beside several patrimonies which in every country he shall allot them, he shall share whole kingdoms and provinces among them: Saint George shall have England, Saint Andrew Scotland, Saint Denis France, Saint James Spain, Saint Mark Venice, &c, and bear rule as presidents and patrons of their several coun-

(9) והמשילים ברבים
ואדמה יחלק במחיר
et dominari faciet eos in multos, terramque partietur in mercedem.

(1) Mede's Works. p. 672.

(2) Et hæc Porphyrius ad Antiochum refert: quod undecimo anno regni sui rursus contra sororis filium Ptolemæum Philometorem dimicaverit. Qui audiens venire Antiochum, congrega-

“ countries.” But it appears more natural and easy to understand it of the principal teachers and propagators of the worship of Mahuzzim, the bishops, and priests, and monks, and religious orders : and that they have been honored, and revered, and almost adored in former ages ; that their authority and jurisdiction have extended over the purses and consciences of men ; that they have been enriched with noble buildings and large indowments, and have had the choiest of the lands appropriated for church-lands ; are points of such public notoriety, that they require no proof, as they will admit of no denial.

Such was the degeneracy of the christian church, and now we shall see its punishment, especially in the eastern part of it. *And at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him, and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships, and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow, and pass over.* (ver. 40.) These things also (2) Porphyry refers

gregavit multa popalorum mil-
lia. Sed Antiochus quasi tem-
pestas valida in curribus, et in
equitibus, et in classe magna in-
gressus sit terras plurimas, et
transeundo universa vastaverit :

veneritque ad terram inclytam,
id est, Judæam,—et arcem mu-
nierit de ruinis murorum civi-
tatis, et sic perrexerit in Ægyp-
tum. Hieron. ibid.

(3) Obiit

refers to Antiochus : that in the eleventh year of his reign he warred again against his sister's son Ptolemy Philometor, who hearing of his coming gathered together many thousands of the people ; but Antiochus like a whirlwind with chariots, and with horsemen, and with a great fleet entered into many countries, and in passing over laid all waste ; and came to the famous land, that is Judea, and fortified the citadel out of the ruins of the walls of the city, and so marched forwards into Egypt. But here Porphyry may be convicted of falsifying history ; for after Antiochus was dismissed out of Egypt by the Romans, he never ventured to go thither again. The (3) eleventh was the last year of his reign : and all (4) historians agree, that the latter part of his reign was employed in his eastern expedition, in reducing Artaxias king of Armenia to his obedience, and in collecting the tribute among the Persians ; and before he returned, he died. Others therefore (5) have said, that the prophet here resumes his former subject of the wars between Antiochus Epiphanes

(3) Obiit cum regnasset annos solidos undecim. Petavii Rat. Temp. Part 1. Lib. 4. Cap. 10. So likewise Eusebius. Jerome, & Sulpitius Severus. Usher's Annals. A. M. 3840.

Prideaux Connect. Part 2. B. 3. Anno 164.

(4) 1 Macc. III. 31, &c. VI. 1, &c. 2 Macc. IX. 1, &c. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 8. Sect.

phanes king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt. But it is not likely, after giving an account of the conclusion of those wars by the interposition of the Romans, that he should return to them again. Having hitherto deduced things in a regular series, it is more probable that he should continue that series, and proceed to other subsequent events, than that of a sudden he should stop short, and revert to Antiochus, after the intermixture of so many other affairs. But the question is not so much what it was probable for him to do, as what he actually hath done : and we shall find, that the remaining parts of the prophecy are more applicable to other subsequent events than to the transactions of Antiochus. The kings of the *south* and the *north* are to be taken and explained according to the times, of which the prophet is speaking. As long as the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria were subsisting, so long the Egyptian and Syrian kings were the kings of the south and the north : but when these kingdoms were swallowed up in the Roman empire, then other powers

Seft. 1. p. 544. Edit. Hudson.
Valefi Excerpta ex Polybio
p. 145. Appian de Bell. Syr. p.
131. Edit. Steph. p. 212. Edit.
Tollii. Diodorus Siculus apud

Hieron. Col. 1131.

(5) Menochius, Sanctius,
Maldonatus &c apud Poli Syn-
nops, Calmet, Houbigant, &c
in locum.

powers became the kings of the south and the north. *And at the time of the end*, that is, (as Mr. Mede (6) rightly expounds it) in the latter days of the Roman empire; *shall the king of the south push at him*: that is the Saracens, who were of the Arabians, and came from the south; and under the conduct of their false prophet Mohammed and his successors, made war upon the emperor Heraclius, and with amazing rapidity deprived him of Egypt, Syria, and many of his finest provinces. They were only to *push at*, and sorely wound the Greek empire, but they were not to subvert and destroy it. *And the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships, and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over*: that is the Turks, who were originally of the Scythians, and came from the north; and after the Saracens seized on Syria, and assaulted with great violence the remains of the Greek empire, and in time rendered themselves absolute masters of the whole. The Saracens dismembered and weakened the Greek empire, but the Turks totally ruined and destroyed it: and for this reason, we may presume, so much more is said of the
Turks

(6) Mede's Works. B. 3. p. 674. & B. 4. p. 816.

(7) Anti-

Turks than of the Saracens. Their *chariots* and their *horsemen* are particularly mentioned; because their armies consisted chiefly of horse, especially before the institution of the Janizaries, and their standards still are horse-tails. Their *ships* too are said to be *many*; and indeed without many ships they could never have gotten possession of so many islands and maritime countries, nor have so frequently vanquished the Venetians, who were at that time the greatest naval power in Europe. What fleets, what armies were employed in the besieging and taking of Constantinople, of Negropont or Eubœa, of Rhodes, of Cyprus, and lastly of Candy or Crete? The words *shall enter into the countries, and overflow, and pass over*, give us an exact idea of their *overflowing* the western parts of Asia, and then *passing over* into Europe, and fixing the seat of their empire at Constantinople, as they did under their seventh emperor Mohammed the second.

Among his other conquests this king of the north was to take possession of the holy land, and to subdue the neighbouring countries; but the mixed people of Arabia were to escape out of his hands. *He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown; but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children*

dren of Ammon. (ver. 41.) Porphyry and those of his opinion (7) affirm, that Antiochus marching hastily against Ptolemy the king of the south, did not meddle with the Idumeans, and Moabites, and Ammonites, who were situated on the side of Judea; lest his being engaged in another war should render Ptolemy the stronger. Grotius saith, (8) that Antiochus spared these nations, because they obeyed all his commands; and therefore the Maccabees made war upon them, as the friends of Antiochus. An ancient commentator, and venerable father, Theodoret, on the contrary, (9) asserts, that neither do these things any more than the rest fit Antiochus; for having overthrown these nations, he constituted rulers over them, one of whom was Timotheus the commander of the Ammonites. This Timotheus, I suppose, was the same who is mentioned in the fifth chapter of the first book of Maccabees. The diversity of these accounts demonstrates the difficulty of accommodating this passage to Antiochus. If we believe Theodoret, it cannot be applied

(7) Antiochus, aiunt, festinans contra Ptolemæum regem austri, Idumæos, et Moabitas et Ammonitas, qui ex latere Judææ erant, non tetigit; ne occupatus alio prælio, Ptolemæum redderet fortiorem. Hieron. *ibid.*

(8) His pepercit Antiochus, quod omnia imperata facerent. Vide 1 Macc. V. Ideo Maccabæi his populis, ut Antiochî amicis, bellum intulere. Grot. *in locum.*

(9) Οὐδε ταῦτα δι' ἀρμολίᾳ τῷ
Αντιόχῳ

applied to Antiochus in any sense. If we rather follow Porphyry or Grotius, it can be applied to Antiochus only in an improper sense. The words are, *Many countries shall be overthrown, but these shall escape out of his hand.* The manner of expression sufficiently implies, that he should attempt to conquer *these* as well as the rest, but not with the same success. *These* should not like the rest *be overthrown*; they should deliver themselves, and *escape out of his hand*: and we read of no such transaction in the history of Antiochus. We shall find that the whole may be much better accommodated to the Othman empire. *He shall enter also into the glorious land*: the same expression of *the glorious land* was used before; (ver. 16.) and in both places it is rendered by the Syriac translator (1) *the land of Israel*. Now nothing is better known, than that the Turks took possession of the holy land, and remain masters of it to this day. Sultan Selim (2) entered into Jerusalem in his way to Egypt.

And

Αντιόχῳ· καὶ γὰρ τῆς καταρ-
ψαμένος, ἡγεμονας αὐτοῖς κατε-
σεν, ὡς εἰς τὴν ὁ Τιμόθεος Ἀμμα-
νιτῶν ἡγεμενος. Neque hæc An-
tiocho conveniunt; etenim cum
hos subegisset, duces ipsis præ-
fuit, ex quibus unus erat Timo-
theus dux Ammanitarum. The-

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odore in locum. p. 690. Edit.
Sirmondi.

(1) Stabitque in terra Israelis.
ver. 16. Pervenietque ad ter-
ram Israelis. ver. 41. Syr.

(2) Savage's Abridgment of
Knolles and Rycaut. Vol. I. p.
243. Prince Cantemir's Hist. of

the

Dissertations on the PROPHECIES.

And many countries shall be overthrown: Aleppo, Damascus, Gaza, and the neighbouring cities and countries were forced to submit, and receive the yoke of the conqueror. But these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon: these were some of the people who inhabited Arabia, and the Arabians the Turks have never been able with all their forces to subdue entirely. Sultan Selim their ninth emperor, was the conqueror of the neighbouring countries, and annexed them to the Othman empire; but he could not make a complete conquest of the Arabians. By large gifts (3) he brought over some of their chieftains, and so bribed them to a submission: and ever since his time, (4) the Othman emperors have paid them an annual pension of forty thousand crowns of gold for the safe passage of the caravans and pilgrims going to Mecca: and for their farther security the Sultan commonly orders the Bascha of Damascus to attend them with soldiers and water-bearers, and to take care that their numbers never fall short of four-

the Othman empire in Selim I. Sect. 21. p. 163. Joannis Leunclavii Pandect. Hist. Turcic. Cap. 210. p. 486. Edit. Paris. p. 366. Edit. Venet. Pauli Jovii Hist. Lib. 17. &

Rerum Turc. Comment. in Selymo.

(3) Savage ibid. p. 248. Itaque Selymus per idoneos homines plures eorum duces data fide ad

fourteen thousand. This pension was not paid for some years on account of the war in Hungary: and what was the consequence? One of the Arabian princes in the year 1694, with several thousands of his countrymen, attacked and plundered the caravan going in pilgrimage to Mecca, and made them all prisoners. The neighbouring Basha's were sent against him; but the prince defeated them all by a stratagem, and put them to flight. Among the prisoners who had been taken was the most illustrious Chan of Tartary, whom the Arabians dismissed upon his parole, that he would carry their complaints to the Sultan, and procure the continuance of the pension. He stood to his engagement, and never ceased importuning the Ottoman court, till the arrears of the pension were duly paid. But notwithstanding this pension, the Arabians, as often as they find a lucky opportunity, rob and plunder the Turks as well as other travelers. An instance of the same kind happened lately, and is related in the London Gazette of Feb. 11. 1758. " Constantinople,
" December

se Memphim evocavit, et summa liberalitate prosecutus est: quorum exemplo fiebat, ut ceteri quotidie accederent, acceptisque muneribus in verba ejus continuo jurarent. Pauli Jovii

Hist. Lib. 18. p. 1064. Edit. Gryphii. 1561.

(4) Prince Cantemir's Hist. in Ahmed II. Sect. 49. p. 393. with the note, and also in Bajazet II. Sect. 1. p. 116. with note 2.

O 2

(5) Hæc

“ December 23. The Mecca caravan, which has
“ been lately plundered by the Arabs, was at-
“ tacked by a numerous body of that people ;
“ some say, from 30 to 40,000. The action
“ lasted 16 hours. They first cut off the Bascha
“ of Sidon, who marched out as usual to supply
“ the pilgrims with provisions ; he was killed in
“ the engagement ; then they turned and at-
“ tacked the caravan. The Emir Hadgé, or
“ commanding Bascha, offered them 1000 purses
“ of money to desist ; but they refused any
“ terms, being determined by a mere principle
“ of revenge, for their tribes having been laid
“ aside as conductors or guards to the caravan,
“ and others substituted in their place ; and it is
“ thought the removal of their favourite, Ezade-
“ Bascha, from that post to Aleppo, had also
“ some share in it. At the return to Damascus
“ of the fugitive soldiery, who convoyed the
“ caravan, those in the town rose up in arms
“ against them, as traitors to their faith ; a great
“ slaughter ensued, and continued some time ;
“ but there are advices since, that all is quieted
“ there. The Bascha of the caravan fled to Gaza,
“ with about 15 or 16 of his people, and it is
“ thought he will lose his head. The riches
“ lost to many cities of this empire, which are
“ either taken by the Arabs, or dispersed in the
deserts,

“ deserts, are computed to amount to an immense sum, as they are supplied from India with all sorts of valuable merchandize, spices, &c. by that canal. A like accident happened in the year 1694, under Ahmed the 2d.” So constantly have the Arabs maintained the same spirit in all ages; and there is no power that can effectually controul them. Armies have been sent against parties of the Arabians, but without success. These free-booters have commonly been too cunning for their enemies: and when it was thought that they were well nigh surrounded and taken, they have still *escaped out of their hands*. So well doth this particular prediction relating to some of the tribes of the Arabians agree with that general one concerning the main body of the nation, (Gen. XVI. 12.) *He will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him: and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren.*

But tho' the Arabians should *escape out of his hand*, yet Egypt should *not escape*, but fall under his dominion together with the adjoining countries. *He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of*

Egypt: and the Libyans and the Ethiopians shall be at his steps. (ver. 42, 43.) We read, saith (5) Jerome, that Antiochus did these things in part: but what follows relating to the Libyans and Ethiopians, our doctors assert, agrees better with Antichrist; for Antiochus did not possess Libya and Ethiopia. Theodoret too (6) affirms, that these things also by no means fit Antiochus, for he neither possessed Libya, nor Ethiopia, nor even Egypt itself. This prophecy then cannot belong to Antiochus; and indeed the proper application is to the Othman emperor. *He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries:* This implies that his dominions should be of large extent; and he hath stretched forth his hand upon many, not only Asian and European, but likewise African countries. Egypt in particular was destined to submit to his yoke: *And the land of Egypt shall not escape; but he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt:* and the conquest of Egypt with the neighbouring countries follows

next

(5) Hæc Antiochum ex parte fecisse legimus. Sed quod sequitur, *per Libyas et Æthiopias transibit*, magis nostri asserunt Antichristo convenire. Antiochus enim Libyam quam plerique Africam intelligunt, Æthiopiamque non tenuit. Hieron.

ibid.

(6) Καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἡκιστα ἀρμοῦσι τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ· ὅτι γὰρ Λιβυαί, ὅτι Αἰθιοπία; ἐκρατήσεν, ὅτι δὲ αὐτῆς τῆς Αἰγύπτου. Ἐτὶς ἡκιστα ἀρμοῦσι τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ; οὐ γὰρ οὐδὲ Λιβυαν, οὐδὲ Αἰθιοπία, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγύπτου ἐκρατήσεν.

next in order after the conquest of Judea with the neighbouring countries, as in the prophecy, so likewise in history. The Othman emperor Selim, (7) having routed and slain Gauri sultan of Egypt in a battle near Aleppo, became master of all Syria and Judea. He then marched into Egypt against Tumanbäi the new sultan, whom also having vanquished and taken prisoner, he barbarously ordered him to be hanged before one of the gates of Cairo: and so put an end to the government of the Mamalucs, and established that of the Turks in Egypt. The prophecy says particular, that *he should have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt*: And history informs us, that (8) when Cairo was taken, “ the
“ Turks rifled the houses of the Egyptians, as
“ well friends as foes, and suffered nothing to
“ be lock’d up or kept private from them: and
“ Selim caused 500 of the chiefest families of
“ the Egyptians to be transported to Constanti-
“ nople, as likewise a great number of the
“ Mamalucs

potitus est. Theod. ibid. p. 691.

(7) Prince Cantemir’s Hist. in Selim I. Sect. 16. p. 156, &c. Savage’s Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut, Vol. I. p. 240, &c. Pauli Jovii Hist. Lib. 18. et Rerum Turc. Com-

ment. in Selymo. Leunclav. Annales Turc. p. 341. Edit. Paris. p. 265. Edit. Vénét. Pandect. Hist. Turc. Cap. 207, &c.

(8) Savage, ibid. p. 246, & 248. Pauli Jovii Hist. Lib. 18.

“Mamelucs wives and children, besides the
 “sultan’s treasure and other vast riches.” And
 since that time, it is impossible to say what im-
 mense treasures have been drained out of this
 rich and fertil, but oppressed and wretched
 country. The prophecy says farther, that some
 others also of the African nations should submit
 to the conqueror, *the Lybians and the Ethiopians*
should be at his steps: And we read in history,
 that (9) after the conquest of Egypt, “the terror
 “of Selim’s many victories now spreading wide,
 “the kings of Afric bordering upon Cyrenaica,
 “sent their embassadors with proffers to become
 “his tributaries. Other more remote nations
 “also towards Ethiopia were easily induced to
 “join in amity with the Turks.” At this pre-
 sent time also many places in Africa besides
 Egypt, as Algiers, Tunis, &c, are under the
 dominion of the Turks. One thing more is
 observable with regard to the fate of Egypt, that
 the particular prophecy coincides exactly with
 the general one, as it did before in the instance
 of

(9) Savage, *ibid.* p. 248.
 Ipsique Africæ reges Cyrenaicæ
 finitimi, qui pendere tributa, et
 Sulthanis certo fœdere parere
 consueverant, legationes desti-
 nabant:--Omnesque hæ gentes,
 quæ ad Æthiopiam vergunt,

sicuti amicitiam potius, quam
 imperium Sulthanorum agnos-
 cebant, ita victoriæ fama per-
 ductæ, in Turcarum fidem facile
 concessere. Pauli Jovii Hist.
 Lib. 18. p. 1062 & 1065. Edit.
 Gryph. 1561.

of Arabia. It was foretold by Ezekiel, (XXIX. 14. XXX. 12.) that Egypt should always be *a base kingdom*, and subject to strangers; and here it is foretold, that in the latter times it should be made a province to the Turks, as we see at this day.

The two next, which are the two last verses of this chapter, I conceive, remain yet to be fulfilled. *But tidings out of the east, and out of the north shall trouble him: therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many. And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palace, or rather of his camp, between the seas in the glorious holy mountain, or as it is in the margin the mountain of delight of holiness; yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.* (ver. 44, 45.) Prideaux (1) and other learned men, as well as Porphyry and Grotius, refer this passage to Antiochus; to his hearing of the revolt of the provinces in the east, and of Artaxias in the north; and to his going forth therefore in great anger and with a great army to reduce them to their obedience. But if this part might be

(1) Prideaux Connect. Part 2. B. 3. Anno 164. Houbigant in locum, &c. &c. Porphy. apud Hieron. Col. 1133. Grotius in locum. Nuntius belli a Partho et Armenio. Parthi ad orientem Antioche, Armenii ad septentrionem. De Partho testimonium

habemus Taciti, ubi de Judæis agit, "Rex Antiochus demere superstitionem et mores Græcorum dare adnexus, quo minus teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthico bello prohibitus est."

(2) *Aphedno*

be fitly applied to Antiochus, yet how could he be said afterwards to *plant the tabernacles of his camp between the seas in the glorious holy mountain*; for he returned no more into Judea, but died in that eastern expedition? Porphyry therefore (2) considers the word *Aphedno*, which we translate *his palace* or *his camp*, as the proper name of a place situated between the two great rivers, Tigris and Euphrates: But as Jerome replies, he cannot produce any history, wherein mention is made of any such place; neither can he say which is *the glorious and holy mountain*; beside the folly of interpreting two seas by two rivers. Father Houbigant (3) understands it as the name of a place situated in the mountains, in which mountains the book of Maccabees relates Antiochus to have died. This place, says he, was *between two seas*, namely the Caspian and Euxine, in Armenia itself, where Artaxias prepared rebellion. But neither doth he produce any authority for his assertions. Where doth he read of any such place as *Aphedno* between the Caspian and Euxine seas?

(2) *Aphedno*, qui inter duo latissima situs est flumina, Tigris et Euphratem. Quumque hucusque processerit, in quo monte in clyto sederit, et sancto, dicere non potest: quanquam inter duo maria eum sedisse probare non potest; et stultum

fit duo Mesopotamiæ flumina, duo maria interpretari. Hieron. Col. 1133.

(3) Accipimus *Aphedno*, ut nomen loci, in montibus situm, in quibus montibus narrat liber Machabæorum Antiochum occidisse. Hic locus erat *inter duo*

seas? Where doth he read that Antiochus died in the mountains of Armenia? The book of Maccabees, which he allegeth, testifieth no such thing. Both the (4) books of Maccabees agree, that Antiochus died returning out of Persia, through Babylon according to the first book, through Ecbatana according to the second, *in the mountains* indeed, but it is not said in what mountains. Antiochus was victorious in Armenia, and did not die there. Besides, with what propriety could any mountain in Armenia be called *the glorious holy mountain*? Theodotion and Aquila too (5) render it *Aphedanos* the proper name of a place, as doth Jerome also, who taketh it for a place near Nicopolis, which formerly was called Emmaus. Indeed if it be the name of any place, it must be some place in the holy land; because in the Psalms (CVI. 24.) *the pleasant land*, in Jeremiah (III. 19.) *the pleasant land, the goodly heritage*, and in Ezekiel (XX. 6) *the glory of all lands*, and constantly throughout the book of Daniel, *the pleasant land* (VIII.

duo maria, nimirum mare Caspium et Pontum Euxinum, in Armenia ipsa, ubi rebellionem parabat Artaxias. Houbigant in locum.

(4) 1 Macc. VI. 4. 2 Macc. IX. 2, 28.

(5) Theodotio: *Et figet tabernaculum suum in Aphedano inter maria*. Aquila: *Et plantabit tabernaculum prætorii sui in Αφάδαν inter maria*. Aphedno juxta Nicopolim, quæ prius Emmaus vocabatur. Hieron. Col. 1134.

(6) Inter

(VIII. 9.) *the glorious land* (XI. 16.) and again *the glorious land* (ver. 41.) are appellatives of the holy land; and so consequently *the glorious holy mountain* must be Sion, or Olivet, or some mountain in the holy land, which lieth *between the seas*, (6) the Dead Sea on the east, and the Mediterranean on the west. But after all *Apbedno* doth not seem to be the name of any place. They who rendered it as the proper name of a place, most probably did not know what else to make of it: but the word (7) occurs in Jonathan's Targum of Jeremiah, (XLIII. 10.) and there it signifies *a pavilion, and he shall spread his royal pavilion over them*; and to the same purpose it should be translated here, *he shall plant the tabernacles of his camp between the seas in the glorious holy mountain*. This prophecy then cannot by the help of any explication be made to fit and agree with Antiochus: and in our application of it to the Othman empire, as these events are yet future, we cannot pretend to point them out with any certainty and exactness. Mr. Mede (8) supposeth, that "*the tidings from the east and north* may be that of the return of Judah and Israel from those quarters. For Judah was carried captive at the first into the east,

(6) Inter duo maria, mare Mortuum ab oriente, et mare videlicet quod nunc appellatur Magnum. Hieron. Col. 1134.

(7) אֶפְדֵּנִיָּה

“east, and Israel by the Assyrian into the north,
 “ (namely in respect of the holy land) and in
 “ those parts the greatest number of each are
 “ dispersed at this day. Of the reduction of
 “ Israel from the north, see the prophecies Jer.
 “ XVI. 14, 15. and chap. XXIII. 8. also chap.
 “ XXXI. 8. Or if this tidings from the north
 “ may be some other thing, yet that from the
 “ east I may have some warrant to apply to the
 “ Jews return, from that of the sixth vial in
 “ the Apocalyps XVI. 12. where the waters of
 “ the great river Euphrates are dried up, to
 “ prepare the way of the kings of the east.”
 If this application be not admitted, yet it is uni-
 versally known, that the Persians are seated to
 the east of the Othman dominions, and the
 Russians to the north. Persia hath indeed of
 late years been miserably torn and distracted by
 intestin divisions; but when it shall unite again
 in a settled government under one sovran, it
 may become again, as it hath frequently been,
 a dangerous rival and enemy to the Othman
 emperor. The power of Russia is growing
 daily; and it is a current tradition among the
 common people in Turkey, that their empire
 shall one time or other be destroyed by the
 Russians.

(7) אפרניח Et extendet ten-
 torium suum super eos.

(8) Mede's Works. B. 4.
 p. 816.

(9) Chap.

Russians. Sir Paul Rycaut in his account of the (9) Present State of the Greek Church, speaking of the respect and reverence which the Muscovites have for the see of Constantinople, says also that "the Greeks on the other side have
 " an esteem and affection for the Muscovites,
 " as for those whom ancient prophecies mention
 " to be designed by God, for their avengers
 " and deliverers in after-ages." Which, if it proveth nothing more, yet proveth that the Greek church interpreted this prophecy much in the same sense as we explain it. However this may be, the Port is at all times jealous of the junction of the two powers of Persia and Russia, and exerts all its policy to prevent it. They are certainly two very formidable neighbours to the Turks: and who can say what tidings may or may not come from thence to trouble the Port? who can say, how unlikely soever it be at present, that they may not hereafter be made instruments of providence in the restoration of the Jews? Whatever be the motive and occasion, the Turk *shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many.* The original word, which we translate *utterly to make away*, (1) signifies *to anathematize,*

(9) Chap. 3. p. 83.

(1) הקרי Anathematizavit, Anathemate vel anathe-

to
 mati, internecioni, perditioni devovit; Consecravit, Devotum effecit. Buxtorf.

(2) See

to consecrate, to devote to utter perdition, so that it strongly implies, that this war should be made upon a religious account. *And he shall plant the tabernacles of his camp between the seas in the glorious holy mountain.* It is a notion advanced by (2) some commentators, that here both the Turk and the Pope are signified, the former of whom hath fixed his seat between the Mediterranean and Euxine seas at Constantinople, and the latter between the Mediterranean and Adriatic at Rome; both Antichrists, the one without, the other within the temple of God. But such notions are more ingenious than solid, and have rather the semblance of worth than the substance. *Between the seas in the glorious holy mountain* must denote, as we have shown, some part of the holy land. There the Turk shall incamp with all his power, yet *he shall come to his end, and none shall help him*, shall help him effectually, or deliver him. The same times and the same events seem to be presignified in this prophecy, as in that of Ezekiel concerning *Gog of the land of Magog*. He likewise is a northern power. He is represented as of (3) Scythian extraction. (XXXVIII. 2.) *He cometh from his place out of the*

(2) See Poole, and his additional commentators.

(3) Vide Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 3. Cap. 13. Col. 187, &c.

(4) πρὸς τὸν

the north parts. (ver. 15.) His army too is described as consisting chiefly of *horses and horsemen*, (ver. 4.) He likewise hath *Ethiopia and Lybia with him.* (ver. 5.) He *shall come up against the people of Israel in the latter days* (ver. 16.) after their return from captivity. (ver. 8.) He too shall incamp upon the mountains of Israel. (XXXIX. 2.) He shall also fall upon the mountains of Israel, and all the people that is with him. (ver. 4.) There the divine judgments shall overtake him, (XXXVIII. 22, 23.) and God shall be magnified and sanctified in the eyes of many nations.

At that time there shall be great tribulation, (XII. 1.) *such as never was since there was a nation, even to that same time:* And after that shall be the general resurrection, (ver. 2.) and many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. They certainly are guilty of manifest violence and injury to the sacred text, and rack and torture the words to confess a meaning which they never meant, who contend that nothing more was meant in this passage, than the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus, and the Maccabees after some time coming out of the holes and caves of the earth, wherein they had concealed themselves from the fury and cruelty of their enemies.

enemies. These critics usually pretend to be strong advocates for the literal and obvious meaning of the prophecies: but here they pervert the plainest expressions into figures, and prefer the most forced to the most natural interpretation. The troubles under Antiochus were neither in degree nor in duration to be compared to what the nation had suffered under Nebuchadnezzar; so that the time of Antiochus could not be reckoned *a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation*. The Maccabees too came out of their lurking holes and caves, and recovered their city, and cleansed the sanctuary, even before the death of Antiochus himself: but the resurrection in this place is described as something subsequent to the destruction of the king of the north. Besides how could the Maccabees, who were a set of brave virtuous men, zealously devoted to their religion, liberty and country, by coming forth from the rocks and caves to oppose the enemy in the open field, be said to *awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt*? Such expressions can with truth and propriety be applied only to the general resurrection of the just and unjust: and though it be said *Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake*, yet that is no objection to the truth here deli-

vered; for as (4) Theodoret observed long ago, the prophet hath said *many* for *all*, in the same manner as St. Paul hath put *many* for *all*, when he said, *If thro' the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many: (Rom. V. 15.) and again (ver. 19.) As by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.* The proper conclusion of all is the general resurrection, and the consequent happiness of the wise and good; (ver. 3.) *And they that be wise, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.*

The angel having thus finished his prophecy of the things noted in the scripture of truth, an inquiry is made relating to the time of these events. It was said before (XI. 40.) *At the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him:* and here the question is asked (ver. 6.) (5) *How long shall be the end of these wonders?* The answer is returned in the most solemn manner,

(4) πολλοι δε, αντι τε παντες
εφη. και γαρ ο μακαριος Παυλος
αντι τε παντες, οι πολλοι τεθηκε
λεγων. κ. τ. λ. *Multi autem*

pro omnes dixit. Etenim beatus
quoque Paulus *multi pro omnes*
posuit, cum dixit &c. Theod.
in locum. p. 693.

manner, (ver. 7.) *that it shall be for a time, times, and a half. A time, times, and a half,* as there hath been occasion to show in a former dissertation, are three prophetic years and a half; and three prophetic years and a half are 1260 prophetic days; and 1260 prophetic days are 1260 years. The same time therefore is prefixed for the desolation and oppression of the eastern church, as for the tyranny of the little horn (VII. 25.) in the western church: And it is wonderfully remarkable, that the doctrine of Mohammed was first forged at Mecca, and the supremacy of the Pope was established by virtue of a grant from the wicked tyrant Phocas, in the very same year of Christ 606. “ It is “ to be observed, says (6) Dean Prideaux, that “ Mahomet began this imposture about the same “ time that the Bishop of Rome, by virtue of “ a grant from the wicked tyrant Phocas, first “ assumed the title of Universal Pastor, and “ thereon claimed to himself that supremacy “ which he hath been ever since endeavoring “ to usurp over the christian church. [Phocas “ made this grant A. D. 606. which was the “ very

(5) עד-מתי קץ הפלאות Usque
quo finis mirabilium; Pagnin.
Usque quo finis horum mirabi-
lium? Vulg. *Εως ποτε το πρας*

αν ειρηνας των βασιλευς; Sept.

(6) Life of Mahomet. p. 13.
8th Edit. See also Bishop Jewel's
Reply to Harding. p. 181.

(7) אלה

“very year that Mahomet retired to his cave to
 “forge that imposture there, which two years
 “after A. D. 608. he began to propagate at
 “Mecca.] And from this time both having
 “conspired to found themselves an empire in
 “imposture, their followers have been ever
 “since endeavoring by the same methods, that
 “is, those of fire and sword, to propagate it
 “among mankind ; so that Antichrist seems at
 “this time to have set both his feet upon Chris-
 “tendom together, the one in the east, and
 “the other in the west ; and how much each
 “hath trampled upon the church of Christ,
 “the ages ever since succeeding have abundantly
 “experienced.” There is a farther notation of
 the time in the following words, *And when he*
shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the
holy people, all these things shall be finished : when
 the Jews shall be recalled from their dispersion,
 then all these things shall receive their full and
 final completion. The prophet, not sufficiently
 understanding this answer, (7) inquired, (ver. 8.)
What or how long shall be these latter times or
latter wonders? And it is answered again,
 (ver. 11.) *that from the time of taking away the*
daily sacrifice, and setting up the abomination
that

(7) מִה אַחֲרֵית אֱלֹהִים.

(8) See

that maketh desolate, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days. The days still are prophetic days or years : but even if they were natural days, they could by no manner of computation be accommodated to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes. The *setting up of the abomination of desolation* appears to be a general phrase, and comprehensive of various events. It is applied by the writer of the first book of Maccabees (I. 54.) to the profanation of the temple by Antiochus, and his setting up the image of Jupiter Olympius upon the altar of God. It is applied by our Saviour (Mat. XXIV. 15.) to the destruction of the city and temple by the Romans, under the conduct of Titus, in the reign of Vespasian. It may for the same reason be applied to the Roman emperor Adrian's building a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, in the same place where the temple of God had stood ; and to the misery of the Jews, and the desolation of Judea that followed. It may with equal justice be applied to the Mohammedans invading and desolating Christendom, and converting the churches into mosques : and this latter event seemeth to have been particularly intended in this passage. If this interpretation be true, the religion of Mohammed will prevail in the east the space of 1260 years ; and then a great and glorious revolution will follow ; perhaps the

P 3

restoration

restoration of the Jews, perhaps the destruction of Antichrist; but another still greater and more glorious will succeed: and what can this be so probably as the full conversion of the Gentiles to the church of Christ and the beginning of the millennium or reign of the saints upon earth? For (ver. 12.) *bleſſed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days.* Here are then three different periods assigned, 1260 years, 1290 years, and 1335 years: and what is the precise time of their beginning and consequently of their ending, as well as what are the great and signal events, which will take place at the end of each period, we can only conjecture, time alone can with certainty discover. If we are mistaken in our conjectures, it is no more than (8) Mr. Mede and other much more learned men have been, who have gone before us in this argument. It is indeed no wonder that we cannot fully understand and explain these things: for as the angel said to Daniel himself, (ver. 4 and 9.) *tho' many should run to and fro, should inquire and examin into these things, and thereby knowlege should be increased;* yet the full understanding of them is reserved for the

(8) See Mede's Works. B. 3. p. 717. De numeris Danielis. (9) Prid. Connect. Part 2. B. 3. in the conclusion.

the time of the end, *the words are closed up, and sealed till the time of the end.* But however the great uncertainty of these events, which remain yet to be fulfilled, cannot shake the credit and certainty of those particulars, which have already been accomplished. As (9) Prideaux judiciously observes, it is the nature of such prophecies not to be thoroughly understood, till they are thoroughly fulfilled. Not that such prophecies are therefore like the pagan oracles, of an ambiguous, equivocal, and delusive nature. Obscure they may be, but there is a wide difference between obscurity and equivocation. The pagan oracles were purposely worded in such a manner, that if they failed in one sense, they might hold good in another, tho' (1) directly the contrary: the scripture-prophecies have a determined meaning, and tho' sometimes they may comprehend more events than one, yet are they never applicable to contrary events. The pagan oracles were delivered for the immediate direction of those who consulted them; and therefore a mistake at first was of more fatal consequence: the scripture-prophecies were intended more for the instruction and illumination

(1) As in these instances

Cræsus Halym penetrans magnam pervertet opum vim.

Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse.

P 4

(2) *Ov*

nation of future ages, and therefore it is sufficient if time shall illustrate the particulars. The pagan oracles are no sooner understood, than they are despised, whereas the reverse is true of the scripture-prophecies, and the better you understand, the more you will admire them. The completion of the former demonstrates their fraud and futility, the completion of the latter their truth and divinity.

Upon the whole, what an amazing prophecy is this, comprehending so many various events, and extending thro' so many successive ages, from the first establishment of the Persian empire, above 530 years before Christ, to the general resurrection! And the farther it extends, and the more it comprehends, the more amazing surely, and the more divine it must appear, if not to an infidel like Porphyry, yet to all who like Grotius have any belief of revelation. How much nobler and more exalted the sense, more important and more worthy to be known by men and to be revealed by God, when taken in this extended view, and applied to this long and yet regular series of affairs, by the most easy and natural construction; than when confined and limited

(2) Οὐ γὰρ τὰ μέλλοντα μόνον
 προφητειῶν διέτελει, καθάπερ καὶ
 οἱ ἄλλοι προφητῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καί-
 ρον ὥριζεν, εἰς ὃν ταῦτα ἀπορήσει-
 ται. Non enim futura solum,
 quemadmodum et alii vates,
 prædicere

limited to the times and actions of Antiochus, to which yet it cannot be reconciled by the most strained and unnatural interpretation! What stronger and more convincing proofs can be given or required of a divine providence, and a divine revelation, that there is a God who directs and orders the transactions of the world, and that Daniel was a prophet inspired by him, *a man greatly beloved*, as he is often addressed by the angel! Our blessed Saviour (Matt. XXIV. 15.) hath bestowed upon him the appellation of *Daniel the prophet*; and that is authority sufficient for any Christian: but in this work have been produced such instances and attestations of his being a prophet, as an infidel cannot deny, or if he denies, cannot disprove. The character that is given of him by Josephus is nothing more than strictly his due. It expresseth the sense of the Jewish church; and the same must be the sentiments of every man, who will consider and compare the prophecies and events together. That historian is commending the superior excellence of Daniel's predictions; ' he was wont, (2) says he, not only to foretel ' future things, as other prophets also did; but ' he

prædicere solebat, sed et tempus, quo hæc eventura erant, præfinivit. Joseph. Antiq. Lib.

10. Cap. 11. Sect. 7. p. 465. Edit. Hudson.

(3) ταυτα

‘ he likewise determined the time, wherein
 ‘ they should happen.’ Afterwards having
 mentioned some of Daniel’s prophecies he (3)
 proceeds thus: ‘ All these things, God having
 ‘ shown them to him, he left in writing, that
 ‘ they who read them, and behold the events
 ‘ might admire Daniel for the honor vouchsafed
 ‘ unto him by God; and by these things might be
 ‘ convinced how much the Epicureans are mis-
 ‘ taken, who deny a providence, and allow not
 ‘ that God regards human actions, nor that all
 ‘ things are governed by a blessed and immortal
 ‘ Being for the preservation of the whole, but
 ‘ assert that the world is carried on at random
 ‘ without a guide or ruler: which, if it was with-
 ‘ out a governor as they pretend, would have
 ‘ been destroyed by the blind impulse, and have
 ‘ perished and come to nought, as we see ships,
 ‘ which

(3) ταῦτα πάντα ἐκεῖνος, Θεὸς
 διέξαντος αὐτῷ, συγγραψας κατε-
 λειψεν ὥς τε τῆς ἀναγινωσκοντάς,
 καὶ τὰ συμβαινόντα σκοπόντας,
 θαυμάζουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ παρατῇ Θεοῦ τιμῇ
 τοῦ Δανιήλου· καὶ τῆς Ἐπικυρηίας
 ἐκ τούτων εὑρίσκειν πεπλανημένους,
 οἱ τὴν τε προνοίαν ἐκβάλλουσιν τῇ βίῃ,
 καὶ τὸν Θεὸν οὐκ ἀξιοῦσιν ἐπιτρο-
 πεύειν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐδ’ ὑπο-
 τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ἀφάρτου πρὸς
 διαμοιρῆν τῶν ὅλων ἡσίας κυβερνασθαι
 τὰ συμπάντα, ἀμοιρᾶν δ’ ἡνιοχῶ
 καὶ φροντιστῇ τὸν κόσμον αὐτομα-
 τῶς φερισθαι λέγουσιν. ὅς ἐστι τῆτον
 ἀφροσύνητος ἢ τὸν τρόπον, καθά-

περ καὶ τὰς ναυς ἐξημῶς κυβερνη-
 τῶν καταδύομενας ὀρώμεν ὑπὸ τῶν
 πνευμάτων, ἡ καὶ τὰ ἄρματα πε-
 ριτρεπομένα μὴ ἔχοντα τῆς ἡνιοχί-
 τας, συνίριδις ἂν ἀπο τῆς ἀπρό-
 νητης φόρας, ἀπολωλεί καὶ διεφθει-
 ρετο. τοῖς γὰρ προειρημένους ὑπὸ
 Δανιήλου, δοκῶσι μοι σφόδρα τῆς
 ἀληθοῦς δοξῆς διαμαρταίνειν, οἱ
 τῷ Θεῷ μηδεμίαν εἶναι πρὸς τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων ἀποφαινομένοι προνοίαν.
 οὐ γὰρ ἂν κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνης προφη-
 τείαν, εἰ συνεδαινεν αὐτοματισμῷ
 τινὶ τὸν κόσμον διαγεῖν, πάντα
 ἰώρων ἀποδαινόντα. *Ista omnia,*
a Deo tibi monstrata, scriptis
config-

‘ which are destitute of pilots, overwhelmed by
 ‘ the storms, and chariots overturned and broken
 ‘ to pieces, which have no drivers. For by
 ‘ the things predicted by Daniel, they appear
 ‘ to me widely to err from the truth, who
 ‘ declare, that God hath no care of human
 ‘ affairs: for we should not see all things
 ‘ succeed according to his prophecies, if it
 ‘ happened that the world was governed by
 ‘ chance.’

In short we see how well Daniel deserves the character which his contemporary Ezekiel hath given him (XIV and XXVIII.) for his *piety and wisdom*: and these usually go together, for as the angel saith, (ver. 10.) *none of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand.* Happy are they, who both know the will of God, and do it!

XVIII. *Our*

consignata reliquit: ut qui ea legerint, et eventus perspexerint, Danielum mirentur ob tam insignem honorem illi a Deo habitum; et Epicureos magno in errore versari deprehendant, qui providentiam e vita ejiciunt, et a Deo res humanas curari non existimant, nec omnia a natura beata et immortalis (ad universitatis rerum perennitatem) regi & administrari volunt, sed sine rectore et curatore mundum suo pte impetu ferri asseverant: qui si ita ut illi autumant præ-

fide careret, quemadmodum naves sine gubernatoribus videmus procellis et fluctibus obrui, currusque aurigis destitutos percelli, temerario sane motu labefactatus concideret periretque. Cumque ista prædicta fuerint a Danielo, videntur mihi a vera opinione multum aberrare, qui Deum non curare pronunciant quid agat genus humanum: non enim vaticiniis ejus eventus respondisse conspiceremus, si omnia in mundo temeritate regerentur. *ibid.* p. 466.

(1) πῆντεν



XVIII.

*Our Saviour's Prophecies relating to the
destruction of Jerusalem.*

IN FOUR PARTS.

PART I.

THE Jewish church, consisting only of a single nation, and living under a theocracy or the immediate government of God, experienced continual interpositions of a particular extraordinary providence in its favor and protection, and was from time to time instructed by prophets raised up and sent one after another as occasions required. But the Christian church being designed to comprehend the whole world, was like the world at first erected by miracle, but like the world too is since governed by a general ordinary providence, by established laws, and the mediation of second causes. This difference in the nature and constitution of the two churches, is the reason why prophecies, and miracles, and other supernatural powers, which were continued so long, and repeated so frequently in the Jewish church, were in the Christian

tian church confined to the first ages, and limited chiefly to the persons of our blessed Saviour, and his disciples, and their companions. There were *prophets* (Acts XI. 27.) who *came from Jerusalem unto Antioch*. One of them named *Agabus* (ver. 28.) foretold the *great dearth, which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar*. The same prophet foretold likewise (Acts XXI. 10, 11.) the bonds and imprisonment of St. Paul. Philip the evangelist had also (ver. 9.) *four daughters, virgins, which did prophesy*. Prophetic as well as other spiritual gifts abounded in the primitive church; *their sons and their daughters did prophesy*, (Acts II. 17.) *their young men saw visions, and their old men dreamed dreams*. But the only prophecies, which the Spirit of God hath thought fit to record and preserve, are some delivered by our blessed Saviour himself, and by his apostles, particularly St. Paul and St. John.

Our blessed Saviour, as he was the great subject of prophecy, so was an illustrious prophet himself; as he excelled in all other spiritual gifts and graces, so was eminent in this also; and gave ample proofs of his divine commission by his prophecies as well as by his miracles. What he said upon one occasion, is equally applicable to all his predictions, that their accomplishment is a sufficient attestation of his being the Messiah;
(John

(John XIII. 19.) *Now I tell you before it come, that when it is come to pass, ye may believe that I am he.* He foretold not only his own passion, death, and resurrection, but also the manner and circumstances of them, that he should be betrayed by one of the twelve, even by Judas Iscariot the son of Simon; that all the rest should be offended because of him that very night, and notwithstanding their protestations to the contrary, should forsake him and fly; that Peter particularly, who was more zealous and eager than the rest, before the cock crew twice, should deny him thrice; that he should be betrayed to the chief priests, and be delivered to the Gentiles to mock, and to scourge, to spit upon, and to kill him; that he should be crucified, and the third day should rise again, and appear to his disciples in Galilee. He foretold that his apostles should be enabled of plain fishers to become fishers of men; that they should be indued with power from on high to speak with new tongues and to work miracles; that they should go forth into all nations, and publish the glad tidings of the gospel unto the uttermost parts of the earth. He foretold the persecutions and sufferings which his disciples should undergo, and particularly by what manner of death Peter in his old age should glorify God, and that John should survive

vive till after the destruction of Jerusalem. He foretold the rejection of the Jews, and the calling of the Gentiles; that the kingdom of heaven should be taken away from the former, and be given to the latter, who should bring forth the fruits thereof; that the number of his disciples from small beginnings should increase wonderfully, as a little seed groweth into a tree, and a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump; that his church should be so founded upon a rock, that it should stand for ever, and all the powers of hell should not prevail against it. These things were most of them contrary to all human appearances, and impossible to be foreseen by human prudence or effected by human power; and he must be thoroughly acquainted with the hearts of men, and with the direction and disposition of future events, who could foretel them with such certainty and exactness: and some of them are actually accomplishing in the world at this present time.

But none of our Saviour's prophecies are more remarkable than those relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, as none are more proper and pertinent to the design of these discourses: and we will consider them as they lie in the twenty fourth chapter of St. Matthew, taking in also what is superadded by the other evangelists upon parallel occasions. These prophecies were delivered

livered by our Saviour about forty years, and were committed to writing by St. Matthew about thirty years, before they were to take effect. St. Matthew's is universally allowed to be the (1) first of the four gospels; the first in time, as it is always placed the first in order. It was written, as (2) most writers affirm, in the eighth year after the ascension of our Saviour. It must have been written before the dispersion of the apostles, because (3) St. Bartholomew is said to have taken it along with him into India, and to have left it there, where it was found several years afterwards by Pantænus. If the general tradition of antiquity be true, that it was written originally in Hebrew, it certainly was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, for there was no occasion for writing in that language after the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews into all nations. It is asserted upon (4) good authority, that the Gospels of Mark and Luke were approved and confirmed,

(1) *πρωτον μιν γεγραπται το κατὰ τον ποτε τελωνην, υἱερον δε αποστολον Ιησὺ Χριστὸν Ματθαιον.*
Primum evangelium scriptum esse a Matthæo, prius quidem publicano, postea vero apostolo Jesu Christi. Origen apud Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 25. &c. &c.

(2) On croit que saint Mat-

thieu commença a travailler à son evangile, la huitième année après la resurrection du Sauveur; c'est-à-dire, l'an 41 de l'ere vulgaire. Presque tous les anciens manuscrits Grecs le marquent ainsi à la fin de son volume. Calmet Preface. Magno consensu perhibent Patres, Matthæum, in gratiam credentium

ex

confirmed, the one by St. Peter, the other by St. Paul. So Papias Bishop of Hierapolis and Clemens Alexandrinus say expressly that the Gospel of St. Mark was written at the desire of the new converts, and ratified by St. Peter. So the learned Origen affirms, that the second Gospel is that of Mark, who wrote as Peter dictated to him; and the third Gospel is that of Luke, which is commended by Paul. So Tertullian saith, that Mark's Gospel is affirmed to be Peter's, whose interpreter Mark was; and Luke's Gospel they are wont to ascribe to Paul. So Jerome saith, that the Gospel according to Mark, who was the disciple and interpreter of Peter, is said to be Peter's. These authorities are more than sufficient to weigh down the single testimony of Irenæus to the contrary; but besides these Gregory Nazianzen, Athanasius, and other fathers might be alleged to prove, that the Gospels of Mark and Luke received the approbation, the one of St. Peter, the other of St. Paul:

ex Judæis in Palæstina, evangelium suum scripsisse, et quidem, ut multi addunt, Hierosolymis, octavo post ascensionem Christi anno, qui Claudii imperatoris primus fuit. Wettstein.

(3) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 5. Cap. 10. Hieron. Catalog. Script. Eccles. in Pantano. p. 112. Vol. 4. Par. 2. Edit. Be-
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nedict.

(4) Papias & Clemens Alex. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 2. Cap. 15. Origen apud Euseb. Lib. 6. Cap. 25. Tertull. advers. Marcion. Lib. 4. Sect. 5. p. 416. Edit. Rigaltii Paris. 1675. Hieron. de Script. Eccles. p. 101. Vol. 4. Edit. Benedict. &c. &c.

Q

(5) Mortuus

Paul: and it is very well known, that both these apostles suffered martyrdom under Nero. The Gospel of St. Mark must have been written at latest in the reign of Nero; for he died in that reign, in the (5) eighth year of Nero according to Jerome. The Gospel of St. Luke was written before the Acts of the apostles, as appears from the preface to the latter; and the Acts of the apostles concluding with St. Paul's dwelling at Rome two years, it is probable that this book was written soon after that time, and before the death of St. Paul. It may be concluded then as certain that three of the four Gospels were written and published before the destruction of Jerusalem; Dr. Lardner himself, who fixeth the time of writing the three first Gospels later than most other authors, yet (6) maintains that they were all published some years before the destruction of Jerusalem; and in all probability the writers themselves were dead before that period; St. Matthew and St. Mark were certainly so: and consequently it cannot with any color of reason be pretended, that the predictions were written after the events. St. John is the only evangelist, who lived and wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem; and he purposely omits

(5) Mortuus est autem octavo Neronis anno. De Script. Eccles. p. 105. Vol. 4. Edit. Benedict.

(6) See Vol. 1. of his Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History.

(7) See

omits these prophecies, to prevent this very cavil, as we may suppose with reason. Neither can it be pretended, that these predictions were (7) interpolations made afterwards, because they are inserted in several places, and woven into the very substance of the Gospels; and because they are cited and alluded to by ancient writers, as well as other parts; and because they were not to be accomplished all at once, but required several ages to their perfect completion; and we see them, in some instances, fulfilling to this very day.

In the conclusion of the twenty third chapter of St. Matthew, our Saviour had with the most merciful severity, with the most compassionate justice, pronounced the sentence of desolation upon Jerusalem; (ver. 37, 38.) *O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate.* In like manner, upon another occasion, when he was approaching to Jerusalem, (Luke XIX. 41, 42.) *he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but*

now

(7) See this argument pursued more at large in Dr. Jortin's *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*. Vol. 1. p. 72-77.

now they are hid from thine eyes. So deeply was our Saviour affected, and so tenderly did he lament over the calamities, which were coming upon his nation! Such a generous and amiable pattern of a patriot spirit hath he left to his disciples; and so contrary to truth is the insinuation of a (8) noble writer, that there is nothing in the Gospels to recommend and encourage the love of one's country.

When our Saviour uttered that pathetic lamentation recorded in the twenty third chapter of St. Matthew, he was in the temple, speaking to a mixt audience of his disciples and the multitude: and as he was departing out of the temple, (ver. 1st. of the twenty fourth chapter) *his disciples came to him for to show him the buildings of the temple*, intimating what a pitiable calamity they thought it, that so magnificent a structure should be destroyed. In the other Gospels they are represented as saying, (Mark XIII. 1.) *Master, see what manner of stones, and what buildings are here*; and as speaking of the temple, (Luke XXI. 5.) *how it was adorned with goodly stones, and gifts*. The gifts of ages were repositied there, the (9) presents of kings and emperors
as

(8) Saftsbury's Characteristicks. Vol. 1. p. 99.

(9) Vide Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 13. Sect. 6. Edit. Hudson.

(1) πετραί δε τεσσαρακοῦλα πηχέως το μέγεθος ἦσαν τῆ δομηματος. Saxis vero in exstructione usi sunt quadragenorum cubitorum magnitudinis.—Ἡν δὲ ἀξία τῶν τοιούτων θεμελίων καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν

as well as the offerings of the Jews: and as the whole temple was built with the greatest cost and magnificence, so nothing was more stupendous than the uncommon measure of the stones. The disciples appear to have admired them particularly, and to have thought them very extraordinary; and indeed they were of a size almost incredible. Those (1) employed in the foundations were in magnitude forty cubits, that is above sixty feet, a cubit being somewhat more than a foot and a half: and the superstructure was worthy of such foundations. There were some stones of the whitest marble forty five cubits long, five cubits high, and six cubits broad, as a priest of the temple hath described them.

Such a structure as this, one would have expected, might have indured for many generations; and was indeed worthy of the highest admiration: but notwithstanding our Saviour assures his disciples, (ver. 2.) *There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.* Our Saviour in his prophecies frequently alludes to phrases and expressions used by the ancient prophets; and as the prophet

αὐτῶν ἐργα. Tantis autem fundamentis digna erant opera illis imposita. — τῶν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ λίθων ἐνίοι μῆκος πεντε καὶ τεσσαρῆκοντα πηχῶν ἦσαν, ὕψος πεντε, εὐρος δὲ ἰξ. Saxorum autem,

quibus exstructum erat templum, quædam erant XLV cubitos longa, alta V, et lata VI. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 5. Sect. 1, 2, 6. Edit. Hudson.

phet Haggai (II. 15.) expresseth the building of the temple by *a stone being laid upon a stone*, so Christ expresseth the destruction of it by *one stone not being left upon another*. In the same manner he speaketh of and to the city, (Luke XIX. 44.) *They shall lay thee even with the ground, and shall not leave in thee one stone upon another*. It is a proverbial and figurative manner of expression, to denote an utter destruction; and the prophecy would have been amply fulfilled, if the city and temple had been utterly ruined, though every single stone had not been overturned. But it happened in this case, that the words were almost literally fulfilled, and scarce *one stone was left upon another*. For when the Romans had taken Jerusalem, (2) Titus ordered his soldiers to dig up the foundations both of all the city and the temple. The temple was a building of such strength and grandeur, of such splendor and beauty, that it was likely to be preserved, as it was worthy to be preserved, for a monument of the victory and glory of the Roman empire.

(2) κείσει Καίσαρ ἡδὴ τὴν τε πόλιν ἅπασαν καὶ τὸν ναὸν κατὰς-κατὰν. jubet eos Cæsar totam funditus jam evertere civitatem et templum. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. p. 1295, Edit. Hudson.

(3) τῆς ἡσῶς οὐ τὸν ναὸν ἵκιν, καὶ

μη δελεσι. Vobis autem etiam invitis templum servabo: Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 2. Sect. 4. p. 1269. Edit. Hudson.

(4) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 8. Sect. 1. Cap. 9. Sect. 2. &c. Cap. 11. Sect. 2. Lib. 6. Cap.

empire. Titus was accordingly very desirous of preserving it, and (3) protested to the Jews, who had fortified themselves within it, that he would preserve it, even against their will. He had (4) expressed the like desire of preserving the city too, and sent Josephus and other Jews again and again to their countrymen, to persuade them to a surrender. But an overruling providence directed things otherwise. The Jews themselves (5) first set fire to the portico's of the temple, and then the Romans. One of the soldiers, (6) neither waiting for any command, nor trembling for such an attempt, but urged by a certain divine impulse, threw a burning brand in at the golden window, and thereby set fire to the buildings of the temple itself. Titus (7) ran immediately to the temple, and commanded his soldiers to extinguish the flame. But neither exhortations nor threatenings could restrain their violence. They either could not hear, or would not hear; and those behind encouraged those before to set fire to the temple.

Cap. 2. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudson.

(5) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib.

6. Cap. 2. Sect. 9. Edit. Hudson.

(6) *εἶδα δὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τις, ὅτε παραγέγραμμαι περιμενῶν, ὅτε ἐπὶ τῇ λεικῇ δεισας ἐγχειρηματι, δαιμονίῳ ὄρμῃ τινὶ χρωμένους, κ. τ. λ.*
 Quo tempore miles quidam, non

expectato cujusquam mandato, neque tantum facinus veritus, divino quodam impetu fretus, &c. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 4. Sect. 5. p. 1278. Edit. Hudson.

(7) Joseph. ibid. Sect. 6, & 7.

Q 4

(8) ὁ μὲν

temple. He was still for preserving the holy place. He commanded his soldiers even to be beaten for disobeying him: but their anger, and their hatred of the Jews, and a certain warlike vehement fury overcame their reverence for their general, and their dread of his commands. A soldier in the dark set fire to the doors: and thus, as Josephus (8) says, the temple was burnt against the will of Cæsar. Afterwards, as we (9) read in the Jewish Talmud and in Maimonides, Turnus Rufus, or rather (1) Terentius Rufus, who was left to command the army at Jerusalem, did with a plough-share tear up the foundation of the temple; and thereby signally fulfilled those words of Micah, (III. 12.) *Therefore shall Zion for your sake be ploughed as a field.* Eusebius (2) too affirms, that it was ploughed up by the Romans, and he saw it lying in ruins. The (3) city also shared the same fate, and was burnt and destroyed
as

(8) ὁ μὲν ὅν ναος ἔτις, ἀκούτος
Καίσαρος, ἐμπύρεται. Et temp-
lum quidem hoc modo exuritur,
invito Cæsare. Sect. 7. p. 1279.

(9) See them quoted in Light-
foot, Whitby, Wetstein, &c.
upon the place.

(1) Τερέντιος Ρεφος· ἔτος γὰρ
ἀρχὴν τῆς στρατίας κατελείπειτο.
Terentius Rufus; namque is
exercitui præfectus relictus erat.
Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7.

2

Cap. 2. p. 1298.

(2) Eusebii Demons. Evan-
gel. Lib. 6. Cap. 13. p. 273.
Edit. Paris. 1628.

(3) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib.
6. Cap. 6. Sect. 3. Cap. 7. Sect.
2. Cap. 8. Sect. 5. Edit. Hudson.

(4) Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὰς τε ἐσχατίας
τῆς αἰτίας ἐνέπηρσαν, καὶ τὰ τείχη
κατεσκάψαν. Romani vero ex-
tremas urbis partes incenderunt,
et mœnia funditus everterunt.

Joseph.

as well as the temple. The (4) Romans burnt the extremest parts of the city, and demolished the walls. Three (5) towers only, and some part of the wall were left standing, for the better incamping of the soldiers, and to show to posterity what a city and how fortified the valor of the Romans had taken. All the rest of the city was so demolished and leveled with the ground, that they who came to see it, could not believe that it was ever inhabited. After the city was thus taken and destroyed, (6) great riches were found among the ruins, and the Romans dug it up in search of the treasures, which had been concealed and buried in the earth. So literally were our Saviour's words accomplished in the ruin both of the city and of the temple: and well might Eleazar (7) say, that God had delivered his most holy city to be burnt and to be subverted by their enemies; and (8) wish that they all had died, before they

Joseph. *ibid.* Cap. 9. Sect. 4. p. 1292. Edit. Hudson.

(5) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudson.

(6) Joseph. *ibid.* Cap. 5. Sect. 2.

(7) προηκατο δε την ιερωτατην αυτην πολιν πυρι και κατασκαφαις πολεμικαις. Urbemque sibi sacratissimam tradidisset hostibus ut incendio periret et funditus dirueretur. Joseph. *ibid.* Cap. 8. Sect. 6. p. 1318.

(8) αλλ' ειθε παντες ετεθηνκειμεν, πριν την ιεραν εκεινην πολιν χερσιν ιδιαι κατασκαπιομενην πολεμικαις, πριν τον ναον τον αγιον ετοις ανιστως εξορμηγμενον. Atque utinam omnes fuissetus mortui, priusquam illam sacram civitatem hostium manibus exscindi videremus, priusquam templum tanta impietate funditus erui. Joseph. *ibid.* Sect. 7. p. 1323. Edit. Hudson.

(9) συντελεια

they saw that holy city demolished by the hands of their enemies, and the sacred temple so wickedly dug up from the foundations.

In this plain manner our Saviour, now drawing near to his fatal hour, foretold the absolute ruin and destruction of the city and temple. The disciples were curious to know more of these events, when they should be, and how they should be; but yet thought it not proper to ask him at present, the multitude probably still flocking about him: and therefore they take an opportunity of coming unto him *privately*, as he was sitting upon the mount of Olives, from whence was a good prospect of the city and temple, and there prefer their request to him, (ver. 3.) *Tell us when shall these things be, and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?* These are only different expressions to denote the same period with the destruction of Jerusalem; for when they conceived would be the destruction of Jerusalem, then they conceived would be the coming of Christ; and when they conceived would be the coming of Christ, then they conceived would be *the end of the world*, or (9) rather (as it should be rendered) *the conclusion of the age.* *The end of*

(9) *συντελεία τῆ αἰῶνος.*

(1) Irenæi

of the world or the conclusion of the age is the same period with the destruction of Jerusalem; for there being two ages (as they were called) among the Jews, the one under the law, the other under the Messiah; when the city and temple were destroyed, and the Jewish polity in church and state was dissolved, the former age must of course be concluded, and the age under the Messiah be commenced. It is true the phrase $\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \tau\eta\ \alpha\iota\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$ most usually signifies the end of the world properly so called; as in the parable of the tares (Matt. XIII. 39.) the harvest is $\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \tau\eta\ \alpha\iota\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$ the end of the world; As therefore the tares (ver. 40.) are gathered and burnt in the fire, so shall it be $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\eta\ \sigma\upsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \tau\eta\ \alpha\iota\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\tau\eta$ in the end of the world. And again (ver. 49.) So shall it be $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\eta\ \sigma\upsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \tau\eta\ \alpha\iota\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$ at the end of the world, the angels shall come forth, and sever the wicked from among the just. In like manner our Saviour says to his disciples, (Matt. XXVIII. 20.) Lo, I am with you alway, $\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \sigma\upsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\eta\ \alpha\iota\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$ even unto the end of the world. But here the phrase appears to be used much in the same manner as in the Epist. to the Hebrews, (IX. 26.) But now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself; in the end of the world, $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$

$\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$

συντελεια των αιωνων, in the conclusion of the Jewish age or ages: And these, I think, are all the places where the phrase occurs in scripture. *The coming of Christ* is also the same period with the destruction of Jerusalem, as may appear from several places in the Gospels, and particularly from these two passages. *There are some standing here*, saith our blessed Lord, (Matt. XVI. 28) *who shall not taste of death till they see the son of man coming in his kingdom*, that is evidently, there are some standing here who shall live, not till the end of the world, to the coming of Christ to judge mankind, but till the destruction of Jerusalem, to the coming of Christ in judgment upon the Jews. In another place (John XXI. 22.) speaking to Peter concerning John, he saith, *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* what is it to thee, if I will that he live till the destruction of Jerusalem? as in truth he did, and longer. *The coming of Christ* and *the conclusion of the age* being therefore only different expressions to denote the same period with the destruction of Jerusalem, the purport of the question plainly is, *when shall the destruction of Jerusalem be, and what shall be the signs of it?* In the parallel place of St. Mark (XIII. 4.) the question is put thus,

thus, *When shall these things be, and what shall be the sign when all these things shall be fulfilled?* In the parallel place of St. Luke (XXI. 7.) the question is put thus, *When shall these things be, and what sign will there be when these things shall come to pass?* So that the disciples ask two things; first the *time* of the destruction of Jerusalem, *when shall these things be*; and secondly the *signs* of it, *and what shall be the sign when all these things shall be fulfilled* as it is in St. Mark, *and what shall be the sign when these things shall come to pass* as it is in St. Luke, *and what shall be the sign of thy coming and of the conclusion of the age* as it is in St. Matthew. The latter part of the question our Saviour answereth first, and treateth of the *signs* of his coming and the destruction of Jerusalem from the 4th to the 31st verse inclusive; and then passeth on to the other part of the question concerning the *time* of his coming: And these two heads of our Saviour's answer shall likewise in the same method and order be made the subject of this and some subsequent discourses.

Our blessed Saviour treateth of the signs of his coming and the destruction of Jerusalem from the 4th to the 31st verse inclusive; by *signs* meaning the circumstances and accidents which should forerun, usher in, and attend this
great

great event : And I am persuaded the whole compass of history cannot furnish us with a prophecy more exactly fulfilled in all points than this hath been.

False Christs our Saviour mentions as the first sign of his coming, (ver. 4. and 5.) *Take heed that no man deceive you: For many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ; and shall deceive many.* With this he begins in all the evangelists, and in all useth almost the very same words; only in St. Luke (XXI. 8.) he addeth *the time draweth near*; and indeed within a little time this part of the prophecy began to be fulfilled. For very soon after our Saviour's decease appeared Simon Magus, (Acts VIII. 9, 10.) *and bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that himself was some great one: To whom they all gave heed, from the least to the greatest, saying, This man is the great power of God.* He boasted himself likewise (1) among the Jews as the Son of God. Of the same stamp and character was also (2) Dositheus the Samaritan, who pretended

(1) Irenæi Lib. 1. Cap. 20. p. 94. Edit. Grabe. Theodoret. Hæretic. Fab. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. p. 192. Vol. 4. Edit. Paris. 1642.

(2) και μετα της Ιησου δι' χρο-
νους ηδελησε και ο Σαμαρειτης Δοσι-
θεος πεισαι Σαμαρειτας, οτι αυτος
ειη ο προφητευομενος υπο Μωσewis

Χριστος και εδοξε τινων τη ιαυτη
διδασκαλια κηρυττειναι. Post
Jesu tempora voluit et Dosi-
theus quidam Samarita suis per-
suadere, se esse Christum illum,
quem Moyse prædixerat, visus-
que est nonnullos sibi sua doc-
trina conciliare. Origen contra
Celsum

pretended that he was the Christ foretold by Moses. In the reign of Claudius, about twelve years after the death of our Saviour, when Cuspius Fadus was procurator of Judea, a certain impostor, named Theudas, persuaded a great multitude with their best effects to follow him to the river Jordan; for he said that he was a prophet, and promised to divide the river for their passage, and saying these things he deceived many, (3) saith Josephus. But Fadus sent a troop of horse against them, who falling unexpectedly upon them, killed many, and made many prisoners; and having taken Theudas himself alive, they cut off his head, and brought it to Jerusalem. A few years afterwards in the reign of Nero, and under the procuratorship of Felix, these impostors arose so frequent, that (4) many of them were apprehended and killed every day. They seduced great numbers of the people still expecting the Messiah; and well therefore might our Saviour caution his disciples against them.

The

Celsus, Lib. 1. p. 372. Vide etiam Lib. 6. p. 638. Vol. 1. In Matt. Tract. 27. p. 851. Col. 2. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

(3) καὶ ταῦτα λεγὼν πολλὰς ἠπάτησεν: et hujusmodi sermonibus plurimos decepit. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 4. Sect. 1,

p. 886. Edit. Hudson.

(4) τέτταν μὲν ὁ φηλὶξ πολλὰς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν — λαμβάνων ἀνδρεί. horum quidem multos, — quotidie captos, Felix sustulit. Joseph. ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 5. p. 892.

(5) Joseph.

Dissertations on the PROPHECIES.

The next signs he giveth of his coming are several terrible calamities, as wars and rumors of wars, famins, and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places, (ver. 6 and 7.) *And ye shall hear of wars and rumors of wars: see that ye be not troubled: for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be famins, and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places.* Accordingly there were wars and rumors of wars, as appears in all the historians of those times, and above all in Josephus. To relate the particulars would indeed be to transcribe great part of his history of the Jewish wars. There were more especially rumors of wars, (5) when Caligula the Roman emperor ordered his statue to be set up in the temple of Jerusalem, which the Jews refused to suffer, and persisted in their refusal; and having therefore reason to apprehend a war from

(5) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 18. Cap. 9. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 10. Edit. Hudson. Philo contra Flaccum. Tacitus Hist. Lib. 5.

(6) Indicat Christus majores quam sub Caio-eveniant cædes imminere ultimis temporibus Claudianis, et Neronis principatu. Illud ἐν τοῖς ἐπὶ εὐνοῖς signifi-

cat Judæos et qui aliarum erant gentium iisdem in civitatibus morantes mutuis inter se cædibus collidendos: quod contigit Cæsareæ primum, deinde Scythopoli, Ptolemaide, Tyri, Gadaris, rursum Alexandria, deinde et Damasci. Illud autem βασιλεια ἐπὶ βασιλεια significat tetrarcharum aut provinciarum aperta

from the Romans, were in such a consternation that they omitted even the tilling of their lands: but this storm was soon blown over, and their fears were dissipated by the timely death of that emperor.

It is said moreover, that *nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom.* Here, as (6) Grotius well observes, Christ declares, that greater disturbances than those which happened under Caligula, should fall out in the latter times of Claudius, and in the reign of Nero. That of *nation against nation* portended the dissensions, insurrections, and mutual slaughter of the Jews and those of other nations, who dwelt in the same cities together: as particularly at (7) Cæsarea, where the Jews and Syrians contended about the right of the city, which contention at length proceeded so far, that above twenty thousand Jews were slain, and the city was cleared of the Jewish inha-

aperta inter se bella.—Huc referri debet Judæorum in Peræa habitantium bellum adversus Philadelphenos ob finium controverfiam, Cuspio Fado procuratore; Judæorum et Galilæorum bellum adversus Samaritas, procuratore Cumano; postremo bellum primum a ficariis quos vocabant, deinde

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ab univerfa Judæorum gente sumtum adversus Romanos et Agrippam aliosque Romani imperii socios, quod initium habuit Gessio Floro procuratore. Grot.

(7) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 7. Sect. 7, &c. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 13. Sect. 7. Cap. 18. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudson.

R

(8) Ibid.

inhabitants. At this blow the (8) whole nation of the Jews were exasperated; and dividing themselves into parties, they burnt and plundered the neighbouring cities and villages of the Syrians, and made an immense slaughter of the people. The Syrians in revenge destroyed not a less number of Jews, and every city, as (9) Josephus expresseth it, was divided into two armies. At (1) Scythopolis the inhabitants compelled the Jews who resided among them to fight against their own countrymen, and after the victory basely setting upon them by night, murdered above thirteen thousand of them, and spoiled their goods. At (2) Ascalon they killed two thousand and five hundred, at Ptolemais two thousand, and made not a few prisoners. The Tyrians put many to death, and imprisoned more. The people of Gadara did likewise, and all the other cities of Syria, in proportion as they hated or feared the Jews. At Alexandria (3) the old enmity was revived between the Jews and Heathens, and many fell on both sides, but of the Jews to the number of fifty thousand. The people

(8) Ibid. Cap. 18. Sect. 1.

phi. Sect. 6.

(9) Ibid. Sect. 2. και πασα πολεις εις δυο διηρητο στρατοπειδα.
et unaquæque civitas in duos
divisa erat exercitus p. 1095.(2) De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2.
Cap. 18. Sect. 5.

(3) Ibid. Sect. 7 & 8.

(4) Ibid. Cap. 20. Sect. 2.

(1) Ibid. Sect. 3. Vita Jose-

(5) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 20.
Cap.

(4) people of Damascus too conspired against the Jews of the same city, and assailing them unarmed, killed ten thousand of them. That of *kingdom against kingdom* portended the open wars of different tetrarchies and provinces against one another: as (5) that of the Jews who dwelt in Peræa against the people of Philadelphia concerning their bounds, while Cuspius Fadus was procurator; and (6) that of the Jews and Galilæans against the Samaritans, for the murder of some Galilæans going up to the feast at Jerusalem while Cumanus was procurator; and (7) that of the whole nation of the Jews against the Romans and Agrippa and other allies of the Roman empire, which began while Geffius Florus was procurator. But as (8) Josephus saith, there was not only sedition and civil war throughout Judea, but likewise in Italy, Otho and Vitellius contending for the empire.

It is farther added, *and there shall be famins, and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places.* There were *famins*, as particularly that prophesied

Cap. 1. Sect. 1.

(6) Ibid. Cap. 5. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 12. Sect. 3. &c.

(7) Ibid. Cap. 17.

(8) Ου μόνον δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν

ἑασις ἦν καὶ πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας. Verum non solum per Judæam erat seditio et bellum civile, sed etiam in Italia. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 9. Sect. 9. p. 1200.

R 2

(9) Sueto-

fied of by Agabus, and mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, (XI. 28.) and by (9) Suetonius and other profane historians referred to by Eusebius, *which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar*, and was so severe at Jerusalem, that, as (1) Josephus saith, many perished for want of victuals.—And *pestilences*, for these are the usual attendents upon famins. Scarcity and badness of provisions almost always end in some epidemical distemper. We see many died by reason of the famin in the reign of Claudius: and (2) Josephus farther informs us, that when Niger was killed by the Jewish zelots, he imprecated besides other calamities famin and pestilence upon them, (λιμοντε και λοιμον the very words used by the evangelist) all which, saith he, God ratified and brought to pass against the ungodly.—*And earthquakes in divers places*, as particularly that

(9) Suetonius in Claudio 18. Taciti Annal. Lib. 12. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 2. Cap. 8.

(1) πολλων ὑπ' ἰνδίας ἀναλωμάτων φθειρομένων. multis alimentorum inopia pereuntibus. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 2. Sect. 6. p. 881. Ibid. Cap. 4. Sect. 2. Edit. Hudson.

(2) ἃ δὴ πάντα κατὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν ἐκέρχοντο ἡ θεός. Quæ sane universa contra improbos rata habuit Deus. Joseph. de Bell.

Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 6. Sect. 1. p. 1186. Edit. Hudson.

(3) Gravis terræ motus qui in Creta accidit Claudio impetrante meminit Philostratus in vita Apollonii. Item terræ motuum Smyrnæ, Miletî, Chii, Sami paulo ante tempora excisæ urbis Hierosolymorum. Grot. in locum.

(4) Tacit. Annal. Lib. 12. p. 91. Edit. Lipsii.

(5) Tacit. Annal. Lib. 14. p. 113. Edit. Lipsii. Orosius Lib.

that (3) in Crete in the reign of Claudius, mentioned by Philostratus in the life of Apollonius, and those also mentioned by Philostratus at Smyrna, Miletus, Chios, Samos, in all which places some Jews inhabited; and those (4) at Rome mentioned by Tacitus; and that (5) at Laodicea in the reign of Nero, mentioned by Tacitus, which city was overthrown, as were likewise Hierapolis and Colosse; and that in (6) Campania, mentioned by Seneca; and that at (7) Rome in the reign of Galba mentioned by Suetonius; and that in Judea mentioned by (8) Josephus. For by night there broke out a most dreadful tempest, and violent strong winds with the most vehement showers, and continual lightnings, and horrid thundrings, and prodigious bellowings of the shaken earth: and it was manifest, as he saith, that

7. Cap. 7. p. 473. Edit. Haver-
camp.

(6) Nat. Quæst. Lib. 6. Cap.

1.

(7) Suet. Galb. Cap. 18.

(8) Joseph. de Bell. Jud.
Lib. 4. Cap. 4. Sect. 5. δια
γὰρ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀμνηχανὸς ἐκρηγνύται
χυμῶν, αἱμαὶ τε βίαιοι συν ὁμ-
βροῖς λαβρότατοι, καὶ συνεχεῖς
αἰσῆται, βρονταὶ τε φρικώδεις, καὶ
μυκηματὰ σεισμείης τῆς γῆς ἐξαιτία.
προδὴλον δ' ἦν, ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ὀλε-
θρῶν, τὸ κατασῆμα τῶν ὅλων συγκί-

χυμῶν· καὶ ἔχῃ μικρὰ τὴν ἀν-
εἰκασίαν συμπληρώματος τὰ τελευτά.
Nocte enim gravissima erumpit
tempestas, ventusque violentus
cum imbre vehementi conjunc-
tus, et crebra fulgura, horren-
daque tonitrua, et ingentes
terra concussæ mugitus: mani-
festumque erat, hominum in
exitium, mundi statum fuisse
conturbatum. eratque ut quis
conjiceret ea non vulgares por-
tendere calamitates. p. 1181.
Edit. Hudson.

that the constitution of the universe was confounded for the destruction of men; and any one might easily conjecture, that these things portended no common calamity.

To these St. Luke addeth (XXI. 11.) that *there shall be fearful sights and great signs from heaven.* Josephus in (9) the preface to his history of the Jewish war undertakes to relate the signs and prodigies, which preceded the taking of the city: And he relates accordingly, that (1) a star hung over the city like a sword, and the comet continued for a whole year; that (2) the people being assembled to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, at the ninth hour of the night there shone so great a light about the altar and the temple, that it seemed to be
bright

(9) και τα προ ταυτης σημεια και τερατα. quæque præcesserant signa et prodigia. Sect. 11. P. 957.

(1) ὑπερ την πολιν αστρον εση μορφαια παραπλησιον, και παρατεινας επ' ενιαυτον κομητης. supra civitatem stetit fidus simile gladio, et anni spatio ardere perseverabat cometes. Lib. 6. Cap. 5. Sect. 3. p. 1281.

(2) αδροιζομενη τη λαω προς την των Αζυμων εορτην,--κατα νυχλος ενιατην ωραν, τοσαυτον φως περιλαμψε τον βωμον και τον ναον, ως

δοκειν ημεραν ειναι λαμπραν, και τωτο παρατεινεν ιφ' ημισιαν ωραν. populo ad festum diem Azymorum congregato,—hora noctis nona, tanta lux circa altare templumque circumfusa est, ut dies clarus esse videretur, atque hoc horæ dimidiæ spatio duravit. Ibid.

(3) και κατα την αυτην εορτην βης μεν, αχθεισα υπο τη αρχιερωσ προς την θυσιαν, εικεν αρτα εν τη ιερω μεσση. in eadem quoque solennitate, vacca, cum a pontifice ad sacrificium adducere-
tur,

bright day, and this continued for half an hour; that (3) at the same feast a cow, led by the priest to sacrifice, brought forth a lamb in the middle of the temple; that (4) the eastern gate of the temple, which was of solid brass and very heavy, and was scarcely shut in an evening by twenty men, and was fastened by strong bars and bolts, was seen at the sixth hour of the night opened of its own accord, and could hardly be shut again; that (5) before the setting of the sun there were seen over all the country chariots and armies fighting in the clouds, and besieging cities; that (6) at the feast of Pentecost, as the priests were going into the inner temple by night as usual to attend their service, they heard first a motion and noise, and

tur, agnum in medio templo enixa est. Ibid.

(4) ἡ δὲ ἀνατολικὴ πύλη κ. τ. λ. fed et janua, &c. Ibid.

(5) πρὸ ἡλίου δυσσεως ὥρῃ μετῴρα περὶ πασαν τὴν χώραν ἄρματα καὶ φαλαγγες ἐνοπλοὶ διατῆσαι τῶν νεφῶν, καὶ κυκλῶμεναι τὰς πόλεις. ante solis occasum per universam regionem currus in aere sublimes ferri, et armatæ phalanges per nubes discurrere, urbesque circumvallare sunt visæ. Ibid. p. 1282.

(6) κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑορτήν, ἡ Πεν-

τεκοστὴ καλεῖται, νυκτὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς παρελθόντες εἰς τὸ εὐδὸν ἱερὸν, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἐδόξεν πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας, πρῶτον μὲν κινήσεως ἀντιλαβεσθαι ἐφασαν καὶ κτύπη, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ φωνὴν ἀδρόα, μετὰ δὲ αὐτῶν εἰσελθεῖν. Festo autem die qui Pentecoste appellatur, sacerdotes noctu templum ingressi ad obeunda ex more ministeria, primum quidem motum ac strepitum se exaudisse dixerunt, tum deinde vocem quasi confertæ multitudinis simul clamantis, Migremus hinc. Ibid.

R 4

(7) τὸ

and then a voice as of a multitude saying, Let us depart hence; and (7) what he reckons as the most terrible of all, that one Jesus, an ordinary country fellow, four years before the war began, and when the city was in peace and plenty, came to the feast of tabernacles, and ran crying up and down the streets day and night, 'A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the temple, a voice against the bridegrooms and the brides, a voice against all the people.' The magistrates endeavored by stripes and tortures to restrain him; but he still cried with a mournful voice, 'Woe woe to Jerusalem!' This he continued to do for seven years and five months together, and especially at the great festivals; and he neither grew hoarse nor was tired: but went about the walls, and cried with a loud voice, 'Woe woe to the city, and to the people, and to the temple;' and as he added at last, 'Woe woe also to myself,' it happened that a stone from some sling or engine immediately struck him dead. These were indeed

(7) το δὲ τῶν φοβερωτέρων
 ἰσχυρὸς γὰρ τις κ. τ. λ. Quod vero
 his omnibus terribilius est, Jesus
 quidam &c. Ibid.

(8) Evenerant prodigia--Visæ
 per calum concurrere acies,
 rutilantia arma, et subito nu-
 bium igne collucere templum.
 Expasse

deed *fearful sights and great signs from heaven*: and there is not a more creditable historian than the author who relates them, and who appeals to the testimony of those who saw and heard them. But it may add some weight to his relation, that Tacitus, the Roman historian, also giveth us a summary account of the same occurrences. He saith that (8) there happened several prodigies, armies were seen engaging in the heavens, arms were seen glittering, and the temple shone with the sudden fire of the clouds, the doors of the temple opened suddenly, and a voice greater than human was heard, that the gods were departing, and likewise a great motion of their departing. Dr. Jortin's (9) remark is very pertinent, " If Christ
" had not expressly foretold this, many, who
" give little heed to portents, and who know
" that historians have been too credulous in
" that point, would have suspected that Jose-
" phus exaggerated, and that Tacitus was mis-
" informed; but as the testimonies of Josephus
" and Tacitus confirm the predictions of
" Christ, so the predictions of Christ confirm
" the

Expasærepente delubri fores, et
audita major humanâ vox, Ex-
cedere deos. Simul ingens mo-
tus excedentium. Tacit. Hist.

Lib. 5. p. 217. Edit. Lipsii.

(9) Remarks on Ecclesiasti-
cal History, Vol. I. p. 41.

(1) Euseb.

“ the wonders recorded by these historians.” But even allowing all that incredulity can urge—that in the great calamities of war, and famine, and pestilence, the people always grow superstitious, and are struck with religious panics;—that they see nothing then but prodigies and portents, which in happier seasons are overlooked;—that some of these appear to be formed in imitation of the Greek and Roman historians, as particularly the cow’s bringing forth a lamb;—that armies fighting in the clouds, seen in calamitous times in all ages and countries, are nothing more than meteors, such as the aurora borealis;—in short, allowing that some of these prodigies were feigned, and others were exaggerated, yet the prediction of them is not the less divine on that account. Whether they were supernatural, or the fictions only of a disordered imagination, yet they were believed as realities, and had all the effects of realities, and were equally worthy to be made the objects of prophecy. *Fearful sights and great signs from heaven* they certainly were, as much as if they had been created on purpose to astonish the earth.

But notwithstanding all these terrible calamities our Saviour exhorts his disciples not to be troubled. The Jews may be under dreadful apprehensions, as they were particularly in the
case

case of Caligula above mentioned ; but *be not ye troubled, for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet, but the destruction of Jerusalem is not yet.* *All these are only the beginning of sorrows* (ver. 8.) ἀρχὴν ὠδίνων. Great troubles and calamities are often expressed in scripture-language metaphorically by the pains of traveling women. All these are only the first pangs and throws, and are nothing to that hard labor which shall follow.

From the calamities of the nation in general, he passeth to those of the Christians in particular : and indeed the former were in great measure the occasion of the latter ; famins, pestilences, earthquakes, and the like calamities being reckoned judgments for the sins of the Christians, and the poor Christians being often maltreated and persecuted on that account, as we learn from some of the earliest apologists for the Christian religion. Now the calamities which were to befall the Christians were cruel persecutions, (ver. 9.) *Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall kill you ; and ye shall be hated of all nations, not only of the Jews but likewise of the Gentiles, for my name's sake.* St. Mark and St. Luke are rather more particular. St. Mark saith (XIII. 9, 11.) *They shall deliver you up to councils ; and in the synagogues ye shall*

be beaten, and ye shall be brought before rulers and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them. But when they shall lead you, and deliver you up, take no thought beforehand what ye shall speak, neither do ye premeditate : but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye ; for it is not ye that speak, but the holy Ghost. St. Luke saith (XXI. 12, 13, 14, 15.) But before all these they shall lay their hands on you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues, and into prisons, being brought before kings and rulers for my name's sake. And it shall turn to you for a testimony. Settle it therefore in your hearts, not to meditate before, what ye shall answer. For I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay, nor resist. We need look no farther than the Acts of the apostles for the completion of these particulars. There are instances enow of the sufferings of some Christians, and of the deaths of others. Some are delivered to councils, as Peter and John. (IV. 5, &c.) Some are brought before rulers and kings, as Paul before Gallio, (XVIII. 12.) Felix, (XXIV.) Festus and Agrippa. (XXV.) Some have a mouth and wisdom which all their adversaries were not able to gainsay nor resist, as it is said of Stephen, (VI.

(1) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 2. Cap. 25.

(2) Tertull.

(VI. 10.) that they were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake, and Paul made even Felix to tremble, (XXIV. 25.) and the gospel still prevailed against all opposition and persecution whatever. Some are imprisoned, as Peter and John. (IV. 3.) Some are beaten, as Paul and Silas. (XVI. 23.) Some are put to death, as Stephen, (VII. 59.) and James the brother of John. (XII. 2.) But if we would look farther, we have a more melancholy proof of the truth of this prediction, in the persecutions under Nero, in which (besides numberless other Christians) fell those (1) two great champions of our faith, St. Peter and St. Paul. And it was *nominis prælium*, as (2) Tertullian calleth it; it was a war against the very name. Though a man was possessed of every human virtue, yet it was crime enough if he was a *Christian*; so true were our Saviour's words, that they should be hated of all nations *for his name's sake*.

But they were not only to be hated of all nations, but were also to be betrayed by apostates and traitors of their own brethren, (ver. 10.) *And then shall many be offended, and shall betray one another, and shall hate one another.* By reason of persecution many shall be offended, and apostatize

(2) Tertull. Apol. Cap. 2. p. 4. Edit. Rigaltii. Paris, 1675.

(3) Prima

tize from the faith; as particularly those mentioned by St. Paul in his second Epistle to Timothy, (I. 15.) *Phygellus and Hermogenes, who with many others in Asia turned away from him, and* (VI. 10.) *Demas who forsook him, having loved this present world.* But they shall not only apostatize from the faith, but also *shall betray one another, and shall hate one another.* To illustrate this point we need only cite a sentence out of Tacitus speaking of the persecution under Nero. At first, says (3) he, several were seized who confessed, and then by their discovery a great multitude of others were convicted and barbarously executed.

False teachers too and false prophets were to infest the church, (ver. 11.) *And many false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many.* Such particularly was Simon Magus, and his followers the Gnostics were very numerous. Such also were the Judaizing teachers, *false apostles*, as they are called by St. Paul, (2 Cor. XI. 13.) *deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ.* Such also were *Hymeneus and Philetus*, of whom the apostle complains (2 Tim. II. 17, 18.) that they affirmed *the resurrection to be past already, and overthrew the faith of some.*

The

(3) Primò correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens-convicti sunt. Et pereuntibus addita ludibria. &c.

The genuin fruit and effect of these evils was lukewarmness and coolness among Christians, (ver. 12.) *And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold.* By reason of these trials and persecutions from without, and these apostasies and false prophets from within, the love of many to Christ and his doctrine, and also their love to one another, shall wax cold. Some shall openly desert the faith, (as ver. 10.) others shall corrupt it, (as ver. 11.) and others again (as here) shall grow indifferent to it. And (not to mention other instances) who can hear St. Paul complaining at Rome (2 Tim. IV. 16.) that *at his first answer no man stood with him, but all men forsook him*; who can hear the divine author of the Epistle to the Hebrews exhorting them (X. 25) *not to forsake the assembling of themselves together, as the manner of some is*; and not conclude the event to have sufficiently justified our Saviour's prediction?

But he that shall endure unto the end; (ver. 13.) but he who shall not be terrified by these trials and persecutions; he who shall neither apostatize from the faith himself, nor be seduced by others; he who shall not be ashamed to profess his faith in Christ, and his love to the brethren; *the same shall*

shall be saved, saved both here and hereafter. There shall not an hair of your head perish, as it is in St. Luke: (XXI. 18.) and indeed it is very remarkable, and was certainly a most signal act of providence, that none of the Christians perished in the destruction of Jerusalem. So true and prophetic also was that assertion of St. Peter upon this same occasion, (2 Pet. II. 9.) The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptations.

But notwithstanding the persecutions and calamities of the Christians, there was to be an universal publication of the gospel before the destruction of Jerusalem, (ver. 14.) *And this gospel of the kingdom* (this gospel of the kingdom of God) *shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come;* and then shall the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the Jewish polity come to pass; when all nations shall be or may be convinced of the crying sin of the Jews in crucifying the Lord of glory, and of the justice of God's judgments upon them for it. The Acts of the apostles contain only a small part of the history of a small part of the apostles; and yet even in that

- (4) Tacit. Annal. Lib. 15. ἀναβολή καὶ ἐν τῇ δυσί, — δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ
 (5) κηρυχθῆναι γενομένης ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς δυσίως ἐλθού.
 Place

that history we see, the gospel was widely diffused, and had taken root in the most considerable parts of the Roman empire. As early as in the reign of Nero, (4) the Christians were grown so numerous at Rome, as to raise the jealousy of the government, and the first general persecution was commenced against them under pretence of their having set fire to the city, of which the emperor himself was really guilty, but willing to transfer the blame and odium upon the poor innocent Christians. Clement, who was a contemporary and fellow-laborer with St. Paul, (5) says of him in particular, that he was a preacher both in the east and in the west, that he taught the whole world righteousness, and traveled as far as to the utmost borders of the west: and if such were the labors of one apostle, tho' the chiefest of the apostles, what were the united labors of them all? It appears indeed from the writers of the history of the church, that before the destruction of Jerusalem the gospel was not only preached in the lesser Asia, and Greece, and Italy, the great theatres of action then in the world; but was likewise propagated as far northward as Scythia, as far southward

Præco factus in oriente ac occidente,—totum mundum docens justitiam, et ad occidentem terminatus.

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num veniens. Clem. Epist. ad Corinth. I. Cap. 5.

S

(6) Britannos

ward as Ethiopia, as far eastward as Parthia and India, as far westward as Spain and Britain. Our ancestors of this island seem to have lain as remote from the scene of our Saviour's actions as almost any nation, and were a (6) rough inhospitable people, as unlikely to receive so civilized an institution as any people whatever. But yet there is (7) some probability, that the gospel was preached here by St. Simon the apostle; there is much greater probability, that it was preached here by St. Paul; and there is absolute certainty, that Christianity was planted in this country, in the days of the apostles, before the destruction of Jerusalem. Agreeably to this (8) Eusebius informs us, that the apostles preached the gospel in all the world; and some of them passed beyond the ocean to the Britannic isles. Thodoret likewise (9) affirms, that the apostles had induced every nation and kind of men to embrace the gospel, and among the converted nations he reckons particularly the Britons. St. Paul himself in his Epistle to the Colossians (I. 6, 23.) speaketh of the gospel's being *come into all the world, and preached to every creature under*

(6) Britannos hospitibus ferros. Hor. Od. III. IV. 33.

(7) See Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicæ*. Chap. 1. Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* Book 1. Usserii *Britann. Eccles. Anti-*

quitates. Cap. 1. &c.

(8) ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὠκεανὸν παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καλούμενας Βρετανικὰς νῆσους.—trans oceanum evasisse, ad eas insulas quæ Britannicæ vocantur. *Demonst. Evangel.* Lib.

under heaven : and in his Epistle to the Romans (X. 18.) very elegantly applies to the lights of the church what the Psalmist said of the lights of heaven, *their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world*. But how improbable, and in all human appearance impossible was it, that a few poor fishermen and such inferior illiterate persons should propagate and establish a new religion, in so short a space of time, throughout the world? Doubtless it was not man's but God's work, and from the same divine spirit proceeded both the prophecy and the completion !

We have deduced the prophecies as low as to the siege of Jerusalem ; and now let us stop to make a few short reflections upon what hath been said.

The first reflection that naturally occurs, is the strange and surprising manner in which these prophecies have been fulfilled, and the great argument that may thence be drawn for the truth of our Saviour's divine mission : but we shall have a fitter opportunity for enlarging upon this hereafter.

Another reflection we may make on the sincerity

Lib. 3. Cap. 5. p. 112. Edit. Paris. 1628.

(9) Theod. Serm. 9. Tom. 4. p. 610. Edit. Paris. 1642. Καὶ μόνον Ῥωμαῖς ; — ἀλλὰ καὶ —

Βρεττανῆς — καὶ ἀπαξῶς παν
ἔθνος καὶ γένος ἀνθρώπων — κ. τ. λ.
neque solum Romanos — sed et
— Britannos — atque, ut semel
dicam, omne hominum genus
nationesque omnes, &c.

S 2

(1) ἀπαν

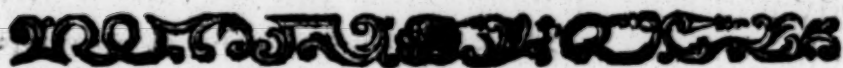
cerity and ingenuity of Christ, and the courage and constancy of his disciples. Had Jesus been an impostor, he would, like all other impostors, have fed his followers with fair hopes and promises: but on the contrary we see, that he denounceth persecution to be the lot of his disciples, he pointeth out to them the difficulties they must encounter, the fiery trials they must undergo; and yet they did not therefore stagger in their faith, they did not therefore like faint-hearted soldiers forsake their colors and desert his service. One hardly knoweth whom to admire most, him for dealing so plainly with them, or them for adhering so steddily to him. Such instances are rarely found of openness on one side, and of fidelity on the other.

A third reflection we may make on the sudden and amazing progress of the gospel, that it should spread so far and so wide before the destruction of Jerusalem. The greatness of the work that was wrought, the meanness of the instruments which wrought it, and the short time that it was wrought in, must force all considering men to say (Psal. CXVIII. 23.) *This is the Lord's doing, it is marvelous in our eyes.* The Mohammedan religion indeed in less than a century overran a great part of the world; but then it was propagated by the sword, and owed
its

its success to arms and violence. But the Christian religion was diffused over the face of the earth in the space of forty years, and prevailed not only without the sword but against the sword, not only without the powers civil and military to support it, but against them all united to oppress it. And what but the spirit of God could bid it thus go forth (Rev. VI. 2.) *conquering and to conquer*? Had this counsel or this work been of men, as Gamaliel argued, (Acts V. 38.) *it would have come to nought; but being of God, nothing could overthrow it.*

A fourth reflection we may make (and it is the last that I shall make) that seldom any state is ruined, but there are evident signals and pre-
sages of it. Few people have their fate particularly foretold by prophets, like the Jews; nor indeed can the fate of any people be so particularly foretold, the time, the manner, and all the circumstances preceding and succeeding, without divine inspiration. So many passages and circumstances cannot be particularly foretold unless particularly revealed: but in the general, without the spirit of prophecy, it is no difficult matter to perceive when cities and kingdoms are tending towards their final period and dissolution. There are as certain tokens and symptoms of a consumption and decay in the body politic, as in the

body natural. I would not presage ill to my country; but when we consider the many hainous and presumptuous sins of this nation, the licentiousness and violation of all order and disciplin, the daring insolence of robbers and smugglers in open defiance of all law and justice, the factions and divisions, the venality and corruption, the avarice and profusion of all ranks and degrees among us, the total want of public spirit and ardent passion for private ends and interests, the luxury and gaming and dissoluteness in high life, and the laziness and drunkenness and debauchery in low life, and above all that barefaced ridicule of all virtue and decency, and that scandalous neglect, and I wish I could not say contempt, of all public worship and religion; when we consider these things, these signs of the times, the stoutest and most sanguin of us all must tremble at the natural and probable consequences of them. God give us grace, that we may *know*, (Luke XIX. 42.) *at least in this our day, the things which belong unto our peace, before they are hid from our eyes.* Never may such blindness happen to us, as befel the Jews; but may we (Is. LV. 6, 7.) *seek the Lord while he may be found, and call upon him while he is near; and return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon us, and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon.*



XIX.

The same subject continued.

P A R T II.

THE preceding discourse was concerning the *signs* of the destruction of Jerusalem, that is the circumstances and accidents, which were to be the forerunners and attendents of this great event. Those are already specified which passed before the siege, and now we proceed to treat of those which happened during the siege and after it. Never was prophecy more punctually fulfilled, and it will be very well worth our time and attention to trace the particulars.

When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, (who so readeth, let him understand) Then let them which be in Judea, flee into the mountains. (ver. 15 and 16.) Whatever difficulty there is in these words, it may be cleared up by the parallel place in St. Luke, (XXI. 20, 21.) *And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh, Then let them which are in Judea, flee to the mountains. So that the abomination of desolation*

lation is the Roman army, and *the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place* is the Roman army besieging Jerusalem. This, saith our Saviour, is *the abomination of desolation*, spoken of by *Daniel the prophet*, in the ninth and eleventh chapters; and so let every one who readeth those prophecies, understand them. The Roman army is called *the abomination* for its ensigns and images which were so to the Jews. As Chrysostom affirms (1) every idol and every image of a man was called *an abomination* among the Jews. For this reason, as (2) Josephus informs us, the principal Jews earnestly intreated Vitellius, governor of Syria, when he was conducting his army thro' Judea against Aretas king of the Arabians, to lead it another way; and he greatly obliged them by complying with their request. We farther learn from (3) Josephus, that after the city was taken, the Romans brought their ensigns into the temple, and placed them over against the eastern gate, and sacrificed to them there. The Roman army is therefore fitly called

(1) ἅπαν εἰδωλον, καὶ παν τυ-
πωμα ἀνθρώπων παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις
βδελύγμα ἐκαλεῖτο. omne simu-
lacrū et hominis effigies apud
Judæos appellabatur abomina-
tio. Advers. Judæos V. Orat.
p. 645. Vol. 1. Edit. Benedict.

(2) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 18.
Cap. 6. Sect. 3. Edit. Hudson.

(3) κομισαῖτες τὰς σημαίας εἰς
τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ θήμενοι τῆς ἀνατολι-
κῆς πύλης ἀντίκρυς, ἐθύσαν τε αὐ-
ταῖς αὐτῶν. signis in templum
illatis positisque contra portam
orientalem, et illis ibi sacrifica-
runt. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib.
6. Cap. 6. Sect. 1. p. 1283.
Edit. Hudson,

(4) πῶς

called *the abomination*, and *the abomination of desolation*, as it was to desolate and lay waste Jerusalem: and this army's besieging Jerusalem is called *standing where it ought not*, as it is in St. Mark; (XIII. 14.) or *standing in the holy place*, as it is in St. Matthew; the city and such a compass of ground about it being accounted holy. When therefore the Roman army shall advance to besiege Jerusalem, then let them who are in Judea consult their own safety, and fly into the mountains. This counsel was wisely remembered, and put in practice by the Christians afterwards. Josephus informs us, that when Cestius Gallus came with his army against Jerusalem, (4) many fled from the city as if it would be taken presently: and after his retreat, (5) many of the noble Jews departed out of the city, as out of a sinking ship: and a few years afterwards, when Vespasian was drawing his forces towards Jerusalem, (6) a great multitude fled from Jericho *εις την ὄρεινν into the mountainous country* for their security. It is probable that

(4) ἤδη δὲ πολλοὶ διεδρασκον ἀπο τῆς πόλεως, ὡς ἀλωσομένης αὐλικῆς. jamque multi ex civitate diffugiebant, ac si continuo esset expugnanda. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 19. Sect. 6. p. 1103.

(5) πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν Ἰουδαίων,

ὥσπερ βαπτιζομένης νεώς, ἀπηνέχοντο τῆς πόλεως. nobilium Judæorum multi, quasi in eo esset navis ut mergeretur, e civitate veluti natando egressi sunt. Ibid. Cap. 20. Sect. 1. p. 1105.

(6) Ibid. Lib. 4. Cap. 8. Sect. 2. p. 1193. Edit. Hudson.

(7) Euseb.

that there were some Christians among these, but we learn more certainly from (7) ecclesiastical historians, that at this juncture all who believed in Christ left Jerusalem, and removed to Pella and other places beyond the river Jordan: so that they all marvelously escaped the general shipwreck of their country, and we do not read any where that so much as one of them perished in the destruction of Jerusalem. Of such signal service was this caution of our Saviour to the believers!

He prosecutes the same subject in the following verses. *Let him which is on the house-top, not come down to take any thing out of his house.* (ver. 17.) The (8) houses of the Jews, as well as those of the ancient Greeks and Romans, were flat on the top for them to walk upon, and had usually stairs on the outside, by which they might ascend and descend without coming into the house. In the eastern walled cities these flat-roofed houses usually formed continued terraces from one end of the city to the other, which terraces terminated at the gates. He therefore who is walking and regaling himself upon the house-top, let him not come down to take any thing

(7) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 5. cum notis Valesii. Epiphanius Adversus Nazareos. Lib. 1. Tom. 2. Sect. 7. Vol. 1. Edit. Petavii. Idem. de Mens. & Pond. Sect. 15. Vol. 2.

(8) See Grotius on the place, and the Miracles of Jesus vindicated by Bp. Pearce. Part IV. p. 27, 28.

(9) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 9. Sect. 1. & 10. Edit.

thing out of his house ; but let him instantly pursue his course along the tops of the houses, and escape out at the city-gate as fast as he possibly can. *Neither let him which is in the field, return back to take his clothes.* (ver. 18.) Our Saviour maketh use of these expressions to intimate, that their flight must be as sudden and hasty as Lot's was out of Sodom. And the Christians escaping just as they did was the more providential, because afterwards (9) all egress out of the city was prevented.

And woe unto them that are with child, and unto them that give suck in those days. (ver. 19.) For neither will such persons be in a condition to fly, neither will they be well able to endure the distress and hardships of a siege. This woe was sufficiently fulfilled in the cruel slaughters which were made both of the women and children, and particularly in that grievous famine, which so miserably afflicted Jerusalem during the siege. For as Josephus reports, (1) mothers snatched the food from their infants out of their very mouths: and again in another place, (2) the houses were full of women and children, who perished

Edit. Hudson.

(1) μητέρες ἡπίων ἐξηπαζόν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν σωματῶν τὰς τροφάς. matres infantibus cibum ex ipso ore rapiebant. Ib. Lib. 5. Cap. 10. Sect. 3. p. 1245.

(2) καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς πεπληρωῆς γυναικῶν καὶ βρεφῶν λευμομένων. ac tecta quidem plena erant mulieribus et infantibus fame enectis. Ib. Cap. 12. Sect. 3. p. 1252.

(3) Ibid.

perished by famine. But Josephus still relates a more horrid story; and I make no question, that our Saviour with his spirit of prophecy had this particular incident in view. There (3) was one Mary, the daughter of Eleazar, illustrious for her family and riches. She having been stripped and plundered of all her substance and provisions by the soldiers, out of necessity and fury killed her own sucking child, and having boiled him devoured half of him, and covering up the rest preserved it for another time. The soldiers soon came allured by the smell of victuals, and threatened to kill her immediately, if she would not produce what she had dressed. But she replied that she had reserved a good part for them, and uncovered the relics of her son. Dread and astonishment seized them, and they stood stupified at the sight. "But this, said she, is my own son, and this my work. Eat, for even I have eaten. Be not you more tender than a woman, nor more compassionate than a mother. But if you have a religious abhorrence of my victim, I truly have eaten half, and let the rest remain for me." They went away trembling, fearful to do this one thing; and hardly left this food for the mother. The whole city was struck with horror, says the historian, at this

(3) Ibid. Lib. 6. Cap. 3. Sect. 4.

(4) Ibid.

this wickedness; and they were pronounced blessed, who died before they had heard or seen such great evils. So true also was what our Saviour declared on another occasion, when the women were bewailing and lamenting him, as he was led to execution; (Luke XXIII. 28, 29, 30.) *Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children. For behold, the days are coming, in the which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck. Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us.* Proverbial expressions to signify their desire of any shelter or refuge; and so very desirous were they of hiding themselves, that (4) some thousands of them crept even into the common-sewers, and there miserably perished, or were dragged out to slaughter.

But pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath-day. (ver. 20.) Pray that these evils be not farther aggravated by the concurrence of other natural and moral evils, such as the inclemencies of the seasons and your own superstitions. *Pray that your flight be not in the winter;* for the hardness of the season, the badness of the roads, the shortness of the days, will
all

(4) Ibid. Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 4.

(5) Josephus

all be great impediments to your flight: *neither on the sabbath-day*; that you may not raise the indignation of the Jews by traveling on that day, nor be hindered from doing it by your own superstition. It seemeth to be spoken a good deal in condescension to the Jewish prejudices, a sabbath-day's journey among the Jews being but about a mile. In the parallel place of St. Mark (XIII. 18.) it is observable, that the evangelist saith only, *And pray ye that your flight be not in the winter*, without any mention of the sabbath-day.

As our Saviour cautioned his disciples to fly, when they should see Jerusalem compassed with armies; so was it very providentially ordered, that Jerusalem should be compassed with armies, and yet that they should have such favorable opportunities of making their escape. In the twelfth year of Nero, Cestius Gallus, the president of Syria, came against Jerusalem with a powerful army. He might, as Josephus (5) affirms, if he would have assaulted the city, have presently taken it, and thereby have put an end to the war. But without any just reason, and contrary to the expectation of all, he raised the siege, and departed. Vespasian was deputed in his room to

govern

(5) Josephus de Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 19. *καὶ εἴπερ ἠδεή-
σε κατ' αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ὥραν εἰς τοὺς
τῶν τειχῶν βιάσασθαι, παρ' αὐτίκα*

*τὴν πόλιν εἰσχεῖ, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον
συνεβη καταλιγυρᾶν. Et si eadem
illa hora voluisset vi muros
perrumpere, e vestigio urbem
cepisset,*

govern Syria, and to carry on the war against the Jews. This great general, (6) having subdued all the country, prepared to besiege Jerusalem, and invested the city on every side. But the news of Nero's death, and soon afterwards of Galba's, and the disturbances which thereupon ensued in the Roman empire, and the civil wars between Otho and Vitellius, held Vespasian and Titus in suspense; and they thought it unreasonable to engage in a foreign war, while they were anxious for the safety of their own country. By these means the expedition against Jerusalem was deferred for some time; and the city was not actually besieged in form, till after Vespasian was confirmed in the empire, and Titus was sent to command the forces in Judea. These incidental delays were very opportune for the Christians, and for those who had any thoughts of retreating and providing for their own safety. Afterwards there was hardly any possibility of escaping; for as our Saviour said in St. Luke's Gospel, (XIX. 43.) *The days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side.*

Accord-

cepisset, bellumque ab ipso confectum fuisse contigisset. Sect. 4. p. 1102. Edit. Hudson.

(6) Joseph. *ibid.* Lib. 4. Cap. 9. Sect. 1, 2, &c.

(7) Joseph.

Accordingly the Romans having begirt Jerusalem with their forces, and having made several assaults without the desired success, (7) Titus resolved to surround the city with a wall; and by the diligence and emulation of the soldiers, animated by the presence, and acting under the continual inspection of the general, this work, which was worthy of months, was with incredible speed completed in three days. The wall was of the dimensions of thirty nine furlongs; and was strengthened with thirteen forts at proper distances: so that, as the (8) historian saith, all hope of safety was cut off from the Jews, together with all the means of escaping out of the city. No provisions could be carried in, and no person could come out unknown to the enemy. But to return to St. Matthew.

In the preceding verses our Saviour had warned his disciples to fly, as soon as ever they saw Jerusalem besieged by the Romans; and now he assigns the reason of his giving them this caution. (ver. 21.) *For then shall be great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning of the world to this time, no nor ever shall be.* St. Mark expresseth it much in the same manner, (XIII.

19.

(7) Joseph. *ibid.* Lib. 5. Cap. 12. Sect. 1 & 2.

(8) Ἰουδαίους δὲ μὴ τῶν ἐξόδων ἀπικοπῇ πᾶσα σωτηρίας ἐλπὶς.
Judæis

19) *For in those days shall be affliction, such as was not from the beginning of the creation which God created, unto this time, neither shall be. This seemeth to be a proverbial form of expression, as in Exodus (X. 14.) And the locusts were very grievous, before them there were no such locusts as they, neither after them shall be such: and again in Joel (II. 2.) A great people and a strong, there hath not been ever the like, neither shall be any more after it, even to the years of many generations. Of the same kind is that in Daniel (XII. 1.) There shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, even to that same time: and that in the first book of Maccabees (IX. 27.) There was great affliction in Israel, the like whereof was not since the time that a prophet was not seen amongst them. Our Saviour therefore might fitly apply the same manner of speaking upon the present occasion: but he doth not make use of proverbial expressions without a proper meaning, and this may be understood even literally. For indeed all history cannot furnish us with a parallel to the calamities and miseries of the Jews; rapin and murder, famin and pestilence within;*

in; fire and sword, and all the terrors of war without. Our Saviour wept at the foresight of these calamities, and it is almost impossible for persons of any humanity to read the relation of them in Josephus without weeping too. That historian therefore might well say, as he doth in (9) the preface to his history, “ Our
 ‘ city of all those which have been subjected to
 ‘ the Romans, was advanced to the highest felicity, and was thrust down again to the extreme misery: for if the misfortunes of all
 ‘ from the beginning of the world were compared with those of the Jews, they would appear much inferior upon the comparison:’ and again in another (1) place he saith, “ To
 ‘ speak in brief, no other city ever suffered
 ‘ such things, as no other generation from the
 ‘ beginning of the world was ever more fruitful of wickedness.’ St. Luke expresseth the reason thus, (XXI. 22.) *For these be the days of vengeance,*

(9) πολλὴν γὰρ δὴ τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πάσων τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπὶ πλείστον τε εὐδαιμονίας συνέβη προσελθὲν, καὶ πρὸς ἐσχάτον συμφορῶν αὐδὶς καταπίσειν. τὰ γὰρ πάντων ἀπ’ αἰῶνος αὐτυχεύματα, πρὸς τὰ Ἰουδαίων, ἡττιάσθαι μοι δοκεῖ κατὰ συγκρίσιν. nam ex omnibus civitatibus, quæ Romanorum jugum subierunt, nostræ sane contigit ad summum felicitatis

pervenisse, ac deinde in extremam calamitatem incidisse, namque omnium ab omni ævi memoria res adversæ, si cum iis conferantur quæ Judæis acciderunt, longe ab illis superari mihi videntur. Josephi Proem. Sect. 4. p. 955.

(1) συνέλονται δ’ εἰπεῖν, μετὰ πολλὴν ἀλλήν τοιαῦτα περιφύεσθαι, μήτις

vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled. These be the days of vengeance, wherein the calamities, foretold by Moses, Joel, Daniel and other prophets, as well as those predicted by our Saviour shall all meet as in one common center, and be fulfilled with aggravation on this generation. These by the days of vengeance too in another sense, as if God's vengeance had certain periods and revolutions, and the same days were fatal to the Jews, and destined to their destruction. For it is very memorable, and matter of just admiration according to (2) Josephus, that the temple was burnt by the Romans in the same month, and on the same day of the month, as it was before by the Babylonians.

Nothing so violent can be of long continuance. These calamities were so severe, that like fire, they must in time have consumed all, and have left nothing for themselves to prey upon.

μητε γενεαν εξ αιωνος γεγενεσθαι κα-
κίας γονιμωτεραν. illud autem
breviter dici potest, neque aliam
urbem talia perpeffiam esse, ne-
que hominum genus aliud ab
omni ævo sceleratius exstitisse.
Lib. 5. Cap. 10. Sect. 5. p.
1246.

(2) Lib. 6. Cap. 4. Sect. 5.
Σαυμασαι δ' αν τις εν αυτη της ωρι-

σποδς την ακριβειαν. και μια γην,
ως εβην, και ημερην επεστησεν την
αυτην, εν η περιεργον υπο Βαβυλωνιων
ο ναος συνεπρησθη est autem ut
mirari quis possit in eo accura-
tam circumacti temporis ratio-
nem. nam eundem, ut dictum est,
mensum et diem servavit, quo
prius templum a Babylonis ex-
uitum fuerat. Sect. 8. p. 1279.
Edit. Hudson.

Γ 2

(3) Lib.

upon. *And except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved. (ver. 22.)* If these wars and desolations were to continue, none of the Jews would escape destruction, they would all be cut off root and branch. I think (3) Josephus computes the number of those who perished in the siege at eleven hundred thousand, besides those who were slain in other places: and if the Romans had gone on destroying in this manner, the whole nation of the Jews would certainly in a little time have been extirpated. *But for the elects sake, but for the sake of the Christian Jews, those days shall be shortened. But for the elects sake, whom he hath chosen, the Lord hath shortened the days,* as it is expressed in St. Mark. (XIII. 20.) *The elect* is a well known appellation in scripture and antiquity for the Christians: and the Christian Jews, partly thro' the fury of the Zelots on one hand, and the hatred of the Romans on the other, and partly thro' the difficulty of subsisting in the mountains without houses or provisions, would in all probability have

(3) Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 3.

(4) *Ipsi Tito Roma, et opes, voluptatesque ante oculos; ac ni statim Hierosolyma conciderent, morari videbantur.* Tacit. Hist. Lib. 5. p. 217. Edit. Lipsii.

(5) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib.

2

5. Cap. 12. Sect. 1. αὐτὰρ δὲ τὸ μὴ ἀργεῖν καθόλου μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς δυναμὸς οὐκ ἰδοὺν ἐρεπίκειτο. *Ipsi autem Tito cessare quidem prorsus tanto cum exercitu honestum non videbatur.* διδοῖναι τε μὴ τὴν δύναμιν τῇ καλοῦσθαι αὐτῶν τοῦ μηκοῦ ἐλατλώσει τῇ χρεῖν. τὴν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι πάντων ἀνθρώπων, πρὸς δὲ

have been almost all destroyed either by the sword or by famine, if the days had not been shortened. But providentially the days were shortened. Titus himself (4) was desirous of putting a speedy end to the siege, having Rome and the riches and the pleasures there before his eyes. Some of his officers (5) proposed to him to turn the siege into a blockade, and since they could not take the city by storm, to starve it into a surrender: but he thought it not becoming to sit still with so great an army; and he feared lest the length of the time should diminish the glory of his success; every thing indeed may be effected in time, but celerity contributes much to the fame and splendor of actions. The besieged too helped to shorten the days by (6) their divisions and mutual slaughters; by (7) burning their provisions, which would have sufficed for many years; and by (8) fatally deserting their strongest holds, where they could never have been taken by force, but by famine alone. By these means *the days were shortened*; and

δι τῆς ἐνελείας τοῦ ταχέος. metu-
endumque ne successus gloriam
ipsi diminuat temporis longi-
tudo. hac enim cuncta quidem
effici posse, sed ad gloriam fa-
cere celeritatem. p. 1251. Edit.
Hudson.

(6) Ibid. Cap. 1. &c.

(7) Sect. 4. ὅς αὖ αὐτοὺς ἔκ τῃ

ὀλίγα ἀνέχουσιν ἐν πολιορκίαις.
quod non paucis annis illis suf-
ficere potuisset obsessis. p. 1213.

(8) Lib. 6. Cap. 8. Sect. 4.

ἐφ' ᾧ βία μὲν ὑπὸ τοῖς ἀλυσσιν, μὲν
δ' ἐδυνάτο λαβεῖν. in quibus vi
quidem nunquam, sola vero
fame expugnari poterant. p.
1289.

and indeed otherwise Jerusalem could never have been taken in so short a time, so well fortified as it was, and so well fitted to sustain a longer siege. The enemy without could hardly ever have prevailed but for the factions and seditions within. Titus himself could not but ascribe his success to God, as he was viewing the fortifications, after the city was taken. His words to his friends were very remarkable, “We have fought, (9) said he, with God on our side; and it is God who hath pulled the Jews out of these strong holds; for what could the hands of men or machines against these towers?” God therefore, in the opinion of Titus as well as of St. Mark, *shortened the days*. After the destruction of Jerusalem too, God inclined the heart of Titus to take some pity upon the remnant of the Jews, and to restrain the nations from exercising the cruelty that they would have exercised towards them. At Antioch particularly (where the disciples were first called Christians) (1) the senate and people earnestly importuned him to expel

(9) Ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 1.
 συν Θεῷ γ' ἐπολεμήσαμεν, εἶπεν,
 καὶ Θεὸς πρὸς ὃ τῶνδε τῶν ἐχυμάτων
 Ἰουδαίους κατέβηκεν, ὅτε χεῖρες τε
 ἀνθρώπων ἢ μηχαναὶ τί πρὸς τούτους;
 τῆς πυργῆς ὀνομαζομένης; Deo, in-
 quit, favente bellavimus, Deus
 est qui Judæos ex istis muni-

mentis detraxit; nam humanæ
 manus et machinæ quid contra
 tales turres valeant? p. 1290.

(1) Joseph. ibid. Lib. 7.
 Cap. 5. Sect. 2.

(2) πολλοὶ δ' ὅταν ἐγκαθίστανται
 παρὰ τῶν τυραννῶν τοῖς πρὸς τὸν
 ὄψημον προφθῇται, πρόσμενεν τῆς ἀπο-

expel the Jews out of the city; but he prudently answered, that their country whither they should return being laid waste, there was no place that could receive them. Then they requested him to deprive the Jews of their former privileges, but those he permitted them to enjoy as before. Thus for the elects sake those days of persecution were shortened.

Our blessed Lord had cautioned his disciples against false Christs and false prophets before, but he giveth a more particular caution against them about the time of the siege and destruction of Jerusalem. (ver. 23 and 24.) *Then if any man shall say unto you, Lo here is Christ or there, believe it not; For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders, insomuch that (if it were possible) they shall deceive the very elect.* And in fact many such impostors did arise about that time, as we learn from (2) Josephus, and promised deliverance from God, being suborned by the tyrants or governors to prevent the people and soldiers from deserting to

τῶ Θεῷ βοηθεῖαν καταγγελλούσας,
ὡς ἦσαν αὐτομολοῖεν, καὶ τῶς
ἐπαύειν δέον; καὶ φυλακῆς γινόμενης
ἐλπίς παρακράβη. πειθεῖσθαι δὲ
ταχέως ἀνθρώποις ἐν συμφοραῖς.
Multi autem tunc a tyrannis
subornati erant ad populum
prophetæ, denuncianteſ esse

auxilium a Deo expectandum,
ut populus minus transfugeret,
et eos, qui supra metum erant
& custodes, spes retineret. Cito
autem in adversis homini per-
suadetur. Lib. 6. Cap. 5. Sect.
2. p. 1281. Edit. Hudson,

to the Romans; and the lower the Jews were reduced, the more disposed would they be to listen to these deceptions, and the more ready to follow the deceivers. Hegesippus too in (3) Eusebius mentions the coming of false Christs and false prophets about the same time. But as it was to little purpose for a man to take upon him the character of the Christ, or even of a prophet, without miracles to vouch his divine mission; so it was the common artifice and pretence of these impostors to show *signs and wonders*, σημεια και τερατα, the very words used by Christ in his prophecy, and by (4) Josephus in his history. Simon Magus performed great wonders according to the account that is given of him in the Acts of the apostles. (VIII. 9, 10, 11.) *There was a certain man called Simon, which before time in the same city used sorcery, and bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that himself was some great one: To whom they all gave heed from the least to the greatest, saying, This man is the great power of God: And to him they had regard, because that of long time he had bewitched them with sorceries.* Dositheus likewise was reputed to work wonders according to (5) Origen: Barchochebas

(3) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 4. Cap. 22. Cap. 7. Sect. 6. p. 893. Edit. Hudson. Vide etiam de Bell.
 (4) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 20. Jud. Lib. 7, Cap. 11 Sect. 1.
 (5) Contra

chochebas too, who (6) Jerome saith pretended to vomit flames. Such also were the Jews, of whom St. Paul speaketh, (2 Tim. III. 8, 13.) comparing them to *Jannes and Jambres*, famous magicians of Egypt, who withstood Moses, as these also resisted the truth, men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith, *πονηροὶ ἀνθρώποι καὶ ψευταί*, wicked men and impostors. There is a strange propensity in mankind to believe things marvelous and astonishing: and no wonder, that weak and wicked men, Jews and Samaritans, were deceived by such impostors; when if it had been possible, they would have deceived *the very elect*, the Christians themselves.

But behold, saith our Saviour, *I have told you before.* (ver. 25.) Behold I have given you sufficient warning. *Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert, go not forth; behold, he is in the secret chambers, believe it not.* (ver. 26.) It is surprising that our Saviour should not only foretel the appearance of these impostors, but also the manner and circumstances of their conduct. For some he mentions as appearing in *the desert*, and some in *the secret chambers*; and the event hath in all points answered to the prediction.

(5) *Contra Celsum*, Lib. 6. Cap. 11. p. 638. Vol. 1. Edit. Benedict.

(6) *Adversus Rufinum*, Lib. 3. Col. 466. Vol. 4. Edit. Benedict.

(7) *et*

prediction. Several of the false Christs and false prophets conducted their followers *into the desert*. Josephus in his (7) Antiquities saith expressly, that many impostors and cheats persuaded the people to follow them *into the desert*, where they promised to show manifest wonders and signs done by the providence of God; and many being persuaded suffered the punishment of their folly; for Felix brought them back, and chastised them. Again in his (8) history of the Jewish war speaking of the same persons he saith, that these impostors, under a pretence of divine inspiration, affecting innovations and changes, persuaded the multitude to grow mad, and led them forth *into the desert*, as if God would there show them the signs

(7) οἱ δὲ γοῆτες καὶ ἀπατεῶνες
 ἀνδρῶποι τοῦ ὄχλου ἐπειδὴν αὐτοῖς
 εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν ἐπιστάει. οἱ δὲ ἐν γὰρ
 ἔφασαν ἐναργὴ τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα,
 κατὰ τὴν τῇ Θεῷ πρόνοιαν γενομένα.
 Καὶ πολλοὶ πεισθέντες, τῆς ἀφρο-
 συνης τιμωρίας ὑπέσχον. ἀναχθεῖσας
 γὰρ αὐτὸς Φηλιξ ἐκολάσεν. Im-
 postores vero et fallaciis pleni
 homines suadebant multitudini,
 ut ipsos in solitudinem seque-
 rentur. Se enim ipsis ostendentes
 dicebant manifesta prodigia et
 signa, quæ Dei cura et provi-
 dentia evenirent. Multique, fi-
 dem habentes, dementiae suæ
 pœnas pertulerunt. Eos quippe
 retractos Felix supplicio affectit.
 Ant. Lib. 20. Cap. 7. Sect. 6.

p. 893. Edit. Hudson.

(8) πλανοὶ γὰρ ἀνθρώποι καὶ
 ἀπατεῶνες, προσχηματίζοντας,
 νεωτερισμῶς καὶ μεταβολῆς πραγ-
 ματευόμενοι, δαίμονας τοῦ πλῆθους
 ἀνεπειδὸν, καὶ προηγὸν εἰς τὴν
 ἐρημίαν, ὡς ἐκεῖ τῇ Θεῷ δεξιῶς
 αὐτοῖς σημεῖα ἐλευθερίας. ἐπὶ τῇ-
 τοι ὁ Φηλιξ, ἰδοὺς γὰρ ἀποστασιῶς
 εἶναι καταβολὴν, πεμψας ἰππῆας καὶ
 πεζοὺς ὀπλίτας, πολὺ πλῆθος διεφ-
 θειρεῖ. Nam homines seductores
 et fallaciis pleni, specie divini
 afflatus, novis rebus et muta-
 tionibus studentes, vulgo ut in-
 fanirent persuadebant, et pro-
 liciebant in solitudinem; ac si
 illic Deus ostensurus esset eis
 signa libertatis. Contra istos
 (inde

signs of liberty. Against these Felix, for it seemed to be the foundation of a revolt, sent horse and foot soldiers, and slew a great number of them. The Egyptian false prophet, mentioned by (9) Josephus and in the Acts of the apostles, (XXI. 38.) *led out into the wilderness four thousand men that were murderers*: but Felix marching with his forces, and coming to an engagement with him, the Egyptian himself with a few others fled away, and most of those who had been with him were slain or taken prisoners. There was likewise another impostor mentioned by (1) Josephus, who promised salvation to the people, and a cessation of all evils, if they would follow him *into the desert*; but Festus sent horse and

(inde enim videtur oritura esse insurrectio) milites, tam pedites quam equites, misit Felix, magnumque eorum numerum interfecit. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 13. Sect. 4. p. 1075.

(9) Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 7. Sect. 6. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 13. Sect. 5. ὥστε συμβολῆς γενομένης, τὸν μὲν Αἰγυπτίον φεύγειν μετ' ὀλίγων, διαφθαρεῖν δὲ καὶ ζωγρηθῆναι πλείους τῶν συν αὐτῷ. Facto igitur congressu, Ægyptius quidem ipse cum paucis evasit; plurimique eorum qui cum eo erant partim trucidati, partim vivi capti sunt. p. 1076.

(1) περιπατεῖ δὲ Φῆτος δυνάμιν ἱππικὴν τε καὶ πεζικὴν ἐπὶ τῷ

απατηθέντι, ἀπὸ τινος ἀνδραπήγοντος, σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς παραγγέλλομενος καὶ πάλαν κακῶν, εἰ βεβλήθειεν ἐπισθαι μετρί της ἐρημίας αὐτῷ. καὶ αὐτὸν τε ἐκένων τὸν ἀπατήσαντα, καὶ τὴν ἀκολούθησαντας διεφθάρην οἱ περιπαδόντες. Quin et Festus equestres pedestresque copias contra eos misit, qui decepti erant ab homine quodam præstigiatore, salutem ipsis pollicente et malorum cessationem, si se usque ad desertum sequi vellent; atque ipsum deceptorem, pariter ac eos qui illum comitati sunt, interfecerunt milites ab eo missi. Ant. Lib. 20. Cap. 7. Sect. 10. p. 895.

(2) De

and foot against him, and destroyed the deceiver himself, and those who followed him. These things happened before the destruction of Jerusalem, and a little after (2) Jonathan a weaver persuaded not a few indigent fellows to adhere to him, and led them forth *into the desert*, promising there to show signs and apparitions; but his followers most were slain, some were made prisoners, and he himself was afterwards taken, and burnt alive by order of Vespasian. As several of these impostors thus conducted their followers *into the desert*, so did others *into the secret chambers* or places of security: as particularly the pseudoprophet mentioned by (3) Josephus, who declared to the people in the city, that God commanded them to go up into the temple, and there they should receive the signs of deliverance. A multitude of men, women, and children, went up accordingly; but instead of deliverance, the place was set on fire by the Romans, and six thousand perished miserably in the flames, or by throwing themselves down to escape them.

Our

(2) De Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 11. *ἡ ἀλογία τῶν ἀπορῶν ἀνέπεισε προσελθὲν αὐτῷ, καὶ προηγάγειν ὡς τὸν ἐρημὸν, σημεῖα καὶ φαντάσματα δεῖξιν ὑπισχυόμενος. Pauperum et indigentium non paucis, ut ipsi se adjungerent, persuasit, et in desertum eduxit,*

promittens se signa ipsis et apparitiones ostensurum. Sect. 1. p. 1337.

(3) τῷτοις αὐτίος τῆς ἀπολείας ψευδοπροφήτης τῆς κατέστη, κατ' ἐκείνην κηρυξάς τιν' ἡμέραν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως, ὡς ὁ Θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν εὐαγγελίᾳ

Our Saviour therefore might well caution his disciples both against the former and the latter sort of these deceivers. *For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.* (ver. 27.) His coming will not be in this or that particular place, but like the lightning will be sudden and universal. The appearance of the true Christ will be as distinguishable from that of the false Christs, as lightning which shineth all round the hemisphere is from a blaze of straw. What a learned (4) Prelate observes from Josephus is very memorable, that “ the Roman
“ army entered into Judea on the east side of it,
“ and carried on their conquests westward, as
“ if not only the extensiveness of the ruin, but
“ the very route, which the army would take,
“ was intended in the comparison of the light-
“ ning coming out of the east, and shining even
“ unto the west.” *For wheresoever the carcase*
is, there will the eagles be gathered together. (ver. 28.) By the word *carcase*, as the same excellent

(5)

αναβηται κελεινι, δεχομενος τα ση-
μια της σωτηριας. His causa
interitus erat pseudopropheta
quidam, qui illo tempore prae-
dicaverat populo in civitate,
“ jubere Deum eos in templum
ascendere, signa salutis accep-
turos.” Lib. 6. Cap. 5. Sect. 2.

p. 1281.

(4) Bishop Pearce's Disserta-
tion on the destruction of Jeru-
salem inserted in Dr. Jortin's
Remarks on Ecclesiastical His-
tory. Vol. 1. p. 27.

(5) Ditto

(5) Prelate, justly remarks, is meant the Jewish nation, which was morally and judicially dead, and whose destruction was pronounced in the decrees of heaven. Our Saviour, after his usual manner, applieth a proverbial expression with a particular meaning. For as, according to the old proverb, *wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together*; so wheresoever the Jews are, there will Christ be taking vengeance upon them by the Romans, who are properly compared to eagles as the fiercest birds of prey, and whose ensign was an eagle, to which also probably our Saviour in this passage alluded. And, as it was said, so was it done; for the victories of the Romans were not confined to this or that place, but like a flood overran the whole land. Josephus saith that (6) there was no part of Judea, which did not partake of the calamities of the capital city. At Antioch, (7) the Jews being falsely accused of a design to burn the city, many of them were burnt in the theatre, and others were slain. The Romans pursued, and took, and slew them every where, as particularly (8) at the siege of Machærus;

(5) Ditto, p. 22.

(6) οὐδὲν δὲ μέρος ἦν τῆς Ἰουδαίας,
ὃ μὴ τῇ περιανέχουσιν πόλει συνα-
πλάττειτο. Nulla autem pars

Judææ erat quæ simul cum
urbe eminentissima non inter-
ibat. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 4.
Cap. 7. Sect. 2. p. 1190. Edit.
Hudson.

chærus; at (9) the wood Jardes, where the Jews were surrounded, and none of them escaped, but being not fewer than three thousand were all slain; and (1) at Masada, where being closely besieged, and upon the point of being taken, they first murdered their wives and children, and then themselves to the number of nine hundred and sixty, to prevent their falling into the enemies hands. When (2) Judea was totally subdued, the danger extended to those who dwelt at a distance. Many (3) were slain in Egypt, and their temple there was shut up: and (4) in Cyrene the followers of Jonathan, a weaver, and author of new disturbances, were most of them slain; he himself was taken prisoner, and by his false accusation three thousand of the richest Jews were condemned and put to death: and with this account Josephus concludes his history of the Jewish war.

There was something so very extraordinary in the conduct of these false Christs and false prophets, and in their appearance at that time particularly, that it may not be improper to bestow some considerations upon this subject, especially

Hudson.

(7) Lib. 7. Cap. 3. Sect. 3.

(8) Ibid. Cap. 6.

(9) Ibid. Sect. 5.

(1) Ibid. Cap. 9.

(2) Ibid. Cap. 10. Sect. 1.

(3) Ibid. Cap. 10.

(4) Ibid. Cap. 11.

(5) Joseph.

especially as these considerations may tend to confirm and strengthen us in our most holy religion.

1. It is obvious to observe from hence, that in all probability there hath been a true prophet, a true Christ, otherwise there would hardly have been so many cheats and counterfeits. Fictions are usually formed upon realities; and there would be nothing spurious, but for the sake of something true and genuin. There would be no bad money, if there was none current and good. There would be no quacks and empirics, if there were no physicians able to perform real cures. In like manner there would be no pretenders to divine inspiration, were none truly and divinely inspired. There would not (we may reasonably presume) have been so many false Messiah's, had not a true Messiah been promised by God, and expected by men. And if a Messiah hath come from God, whom can we so properly pitch upon for the person, as the man Christ Jesus? If there were also some mock prophets in imitation of Mohammed, yet their number was nothing near so considerable, and his success was sufficient to excite and encourage them; whereas the fate and condition of Jesus would rather have deterred any impostors from following his example.

2. Another

2. Another natural observation from hence is, that the Messiah was particularly expected about the time of our Saviour, and consequently that the prophets had beforehand marked out that very time for his coming. For we read not of any false Messiahs before the age of our Saviour, nor of so many in any age after; and why did they rise at that time particularly, if the Messiah was not at that time particularly expected? and why did the Jews expect their Messiah at that time more than at any other, if that was not the time before appointed for his coming? The prophet Daniel in particular had foretold, (IX. 25, &c.) that Messiah the prince should come towards the end of seventy weeks of years, or 490 years, from the going forth of the decree to restore and rebuild Jerusalem. Before these weeks of years were, by one account or other, near expiring, history saith nothing of the false Messiahs; but when the prophetic weeks drew towards a conclusion, then these impostors arose frequent, like so many meteors to dazzle the eyes, and mislead the wandering steps of Jews and Samaritans. Nothing can be a more evident and convincing proof, that the Jews then understood the prophecy in the same sense as the Christians, however they may endeavor to evade the force of it now. They

pretend that the coming of the Messiah was delayed for the sins of the people, and therefore they still live in expectation of him, tho' they know neither the time nor the place of his appearing. Strange! that he who was to come for the sins of the people, should delay his coming for their sins: and more strange still! that God should falsify so many of his promises made by the mouths of his holy prophets. (Num. XXIII. 19.) *God is not a man that he should lie, neither the son of man that he should repent: bath he said, and would he not do it? or bath he spoken, and would he not make it good?*

3. It may be farther observed from hence, that the Messiah was expected to work miracles. Miracles are the credentials of a messenger from God: and it was foretold particularly of the Messiah, that he should work miracles. There was no pretending therefore to the character of the Messiah without the necessary qualifications. Had not the power of working miracles been esteemed an essential ingredient in the character of the Messiah, these impostors would never have had the assurance to pretend to it, or been so foolish as to hazard their reputation, and venture their whole success upon such an experiment: but all of them to a man drew the people after them with a pretence of working miracles,

miracles, of showing signs, and wonders, and apparitions. Now the very miracles which the Messiah was to perform, Jesus hath performed, and none other besides Jesus. The prophet Isaiah foretold, that the Messiah should cure the *lame* and the *blind*, the *deaf* and the *dumb*; and accordingly these very persons were cured in great numbers by Jesus. The prophet Isaiah foretold likewise, that these miracles should be wrought in *the desert*; and accordingly in the desert Jesus wrought them: and by the way I suppose this prophecy was one principal reason why most of the false Christs and false prophets led their followers into solitudes and deserts, promising there to show signs and wonders. The prophet Isaiah foretold (XXXV. 1, &c) *The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose.—They shall see the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God.—The eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. The lame man shall leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing.* The apostle and evangelist St. Matthew relates (XV. 29, &c.) that *Jesus departed from thence (from the coasts of Tyre and Sidon) and came nigh unto the sea of Galilee, and went up into a mountain, and sat down there. And great multitudes*

came unto him, having with them those that were lame, blind, dumb, maimed, and many others, and cast them down at Jesus feet, and he healed them : Infomuch that the multitude wondered, when they saw the dumb to speak, the maimed to be whole, the lame to walk, and the blind to see : and they glorified the God of Israel. Since then the miracles of the Messiah were wrought by Jesus alone, Jesus alone can have any just claim to be the Messiah : and from his works we may conclude (John VI. 14.) *This is of a truth that prophet that should come into the world.*

4. Very observable is the difference between the conduct and success of these deceivers and of Jesus Christ : for in him we have all the marks and characters of simplicity and truth, in them of fraud and imposture. They were men of debauched lives and vicious principles : He *did no sin*, (1 Pet. II. 22.) *neither was guile found in his mouth* ; even Pilate his judge declared (John XIX. 6.) that he could *find no fault in him*. They lived by rapin and spoil, by plunder and murder : He (Luke IX. 56.) *came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them* ; He fed the hungry, healed the sick, and went from place to place doing good. Their conduct breathes nothing but ambition and pride, cruelty and revenge : His behaviour was all humility
and

and meekness, charity and love of mankind. They were actuated by worldly motives, and proposed to themselves secular ends and interests: Jesus was the farthest removed from any suspicion of that kind, and when the people would have taken him (John VI. 15.) *to make him a king*, he withdrew himself from them, *and departed again into a mountain himself alone*. Their pretensions were accommodated to the carnal expectations of the Jews, and withal were backed by force and violence, and yet could not succeed and prosper: On the contrary, the religion of Jesus was spiritual, disclaimed all force, and took the way (humanly speaking) not to prevail, and yet prevailed against all the power and opposition of the world. Now of these who were the deceivers, think you, who was the true Christ? Had Jesus been an impostor, he would have lived and acted like an impostor. Had his design been any thing like theirs, like theirs it would have been discovered and brought to nought. Nothing could make his religion stand, but its coming from God. This is the reasoning of one, who cannot be suspected to favor the cause of Christianity, the learned Gamaliel in the Jewish Sanhedrim; and to him that great council agreed. (Acts V. 36, &c.) *Before these days rose up Theudas, boasting*

himself to be some body, to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves; who was slain, and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered, and brought to nought. After this man rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him; he also perished, and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed. And now I say unto you, refrain from these men, and let them alone; for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought: But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God. And to him they agreed.

5. But tho' the truth will at last prevail over error and imposture, yet it is a melancholy proof of the weakness, and superstition, and enthusiasm of mankind, that these false Christs and false prophets should delude such numbers as they did to their destruction. The false Messiahs had for a time many more disciples and followers than the true Messiah. The Christians were once (Luke XII. 32.) *a little flock*. The number of the names together (Acts I. 15.) were about an hundred and twenty. Whereas these impostors

(5) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. Edit. Hudson.

6. Cap. 5. Sect. 2. και συμμιχλος
οχλος πλειστος εις εξακισχιλιους. et
plurima multitudo promiscua,
ad sex hominum millia. p. 1281.

(6) Lib. 2. Cap. 13. Sect. 5.
περι τρισμυριας μιν αδροειν των
ηπατριων. usque ad triginta
hominum

impostors attracted and drew away great multitudes, one of them (5) six thousand, another (6) even thirty thousand. With a pretence of divine inspiration, they taught the people, as (7) Josephus expresseth it, *δαίμονας* to grow enthusiastically mad, as if they were possessed and actuated by some spirit or demon: and indeed no plague or epidemical distemper is more catching and contagious than enthusiasm. It passeth from man to man like wild-fire. The imagination is soon heated, and there is rarely judgment enough to cool it again. *The very elect*, even good Christians themselves, if they attend to enthusiasts, will be in danger of taking the infection; and be continually liable to be (Eph. IV. 14.) *tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine*, if they have not (as all have not) a sufficient ballast of discretion to keep them steady. In reality enthusiasts know as little of the revelation given us by Christ, as of the reason given us by God. They are blind leaders of the blind. *Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert*, behold his power is experienced in field-preaching,

hominum millia, quos præstigiis suis deceperat, congregavit. p. 1075, 6.

μονον το πλθος αυτων. specie divini affatus, — vulgo ut infirmitate persuadebant. Ibid. Sect. 4. p. 1075.

(7) *προσχηματι διασμεν*, — &c.

go not forth; behold, he is in the secret chambers, behold his presence is conspicuous in the concaves or conventicles, believe it not. He is best sought in his word, and in his works; and he will certainly be found by those, and those alone, who love him, not with fanaticism and enthusiasm, but in truth and soberness, so as to keep his commandments, which is the only infallible proof and legitimate issue of love. For as our Saviour himself saith, (John XIV. 23.) If a man love me, he will keep my words; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him.

6. Once more it is to be observed, that we must not credit every one, who cometh to us with a pretence of working miracles. For the false Christs and false prophets pretended to show great signs and wonders; and yet notwithstanding all their miraculous pretensions, our blessed Lord cautions his disciples not to believe or follow them. But then the question will be naturally asked, If we must not believe those who work miracles, whom must we believe? how shall we know whether a person doth or doth not act by commission from heaven? how shall we distinguish whether the doctrine is of God or of men? Indeed if miracles were not possible to be wrought at all, as some have
pre-

pretended ; or could be wrought only by God, or those who are commissioned by him, as others have argued ; the reply would be obvious and easy : but that miracles are possible to be wrought is a truth agreeable to reason, and that they may be wrought by evil spirits is a supposition agreeable to scripture : and therefore the best answer is, that reason must judge in this case as in every other, and determine of the miracles by the doctrines which they are alleged to confirm. If a doctrine is evil, no miracles can be wrought by a divine power in its behalf ; for God can never set his hand and seal to a lie. If a doctrine is good, then we may be certain, that the miracles vouched for it were not wrought by the power of evil spirits ; for at that rate, according to our Saviour's argument, (Luke XI. 18.) *Satan would be divided against himself, and his kingdom could not stand.* Good spirits can never confirm and establish what is evil, neither can evil spirits be supposed to promote what is good. Supposing that the miracles pretended in favor of Paganism were all real miracles, yet as they lead men to a corrupt religion and idolatrous worship, no reverence, no regard is to be paid to them, according to the command of Moses, (Deut. XIII. 1, &c) *If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee*

thee a sign or a wonder, And the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other Gods (which thou hast not known) and let us serve them: Thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams: for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether you love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul.

In like manner we must not admit any thing contrary to the doctrines of Christ and his apostles, whatever miracles are boasted to recommend and authorize it. For the doctrines of the Christian religion are not only perfectly agreeable to reason, but moreover God hath confirmed it, amply confirmed it, by miracles, and hath in-joined us strictly to adhere to it; and God can never be supposed to work miracles to confirm contradictions: and therefore allowing (what we cannot reasonably allow) that the miracles of Apollonius and other impostors were true and well attested, yet the foundation of Christ standeth firm, and cannot at all be shaken by them. Should any man, or number of men, with ever so grave and confident a pretence to infallibility assert—that it is our duty implicitly to believe and obey the church; when Christ commands us (Matt. XXIII. 9.) *to call no man father upon earth, for one is our Father which is*

in

in heaven—that the service of God is to be performed in an unknown tongue; when St. Paul in his first Epistle to the Corinthians hath written a whole chapter (XIV.) expressly against it—that the sacrament of the Lord's supper is to be administered only in one kind; when Christ instituted it, (Matt. XXVI.) and his apostles ordered it (1 Cor. XI.) to be celebrated in both—that the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ is to be repeated in the mass; when the divine author of the Epistle to the Hebrews teacheth us, (X. 10.) that *the body of Jesus Christ was offered once for al*, and (ver. 14.) that *by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified*—that men may arrive at such highths of virtue as to perform works of merit and supererogation; when our Saviour orders us, (Luke XVII. 10.) *after we have done all those things which are commanded us, to say, we are unprofitable servants, we have done but that which was our duty to do*—that attrition and confession together with the absolution of the priest will put a dying sinner into a state of grace and salvation; when the scripture again and again declares, (Heb. XII. 14.) that *without holiness no man shall see the Lord*, and (1 Cor. VI. 9.) *the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God*—that the souls of men, even of good men, immediately after death pass into purgatory;
when

when St. John is commanded from heaven to write (Rev. XIV. 13.) *Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, that they may rest from their labors, and their works do follow them*—that we must worship images, and the relics of the saints; when our Saviour teacheth us, (Matt. IV. 10.) *that we must worship the Lord God, and him only we must serve*—that we must invoke and adore saints and angels; when the apostle chargeth us (Col. II. 18.) *to let no man beguile us of our reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels*—that we must pray to the virgin Mary and all saints to intercede for us; when St. Paul affirms, (1 Tim. II. 5.) *that as there is only one God, so there is only one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus*—that it is lawful to fill the world with rebellions and treasons, with persecutions and massacres; for the sake of religion and the church: when St. James assures us, (I. 20.) *that the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God*; and when Christ maketh universal love and charity the distinguishing mark and badge of his disciples, (John XIII. 35.) *By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another*—I say should any man assert these things so directly contrary to reason and to the word of God, and vouch ever so many miracles in confirmation

tion of them, yet we should make no scruple to reject and renounce them all. Nay we are obliged to denounce anathema against the teacher of such doctrines, tho' he were an apostle, tho' he were an angel from heaven: and for this we have the warrant and authority of St. Paul, and to show that he laid peculiar stress upon it, he repeats it twice with great vehemence, (Gal. I. 8, 9.) *Tho' we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. As we said before, so say I now again, If any one preach any other gospel unto you, than that ye have received, let him be accursed.* Indeed the miracles alleged in support of these doctrines are such ridiculous incredible things that a man must have faith, I do not say to remove mountains, but to swallow mountains, who can receive for truth the legends of the church of Rome. But admitting that any of the Romish miracles were undeniable matters of fact, and were attested by the best and most authentic records of time, yet I know not what the Bishop of Rome would gain by it, but a better title to be thought Antichrist. For we know that the coming of Antichrist, as St. Paul declares, (2 Thess. II. 9, 10.) *is after the working of Satan with all power and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness*

ness of unrighteousness: and he doeth great wonders in the sight of men, according to the prophecy of St. John, (Rev. XIII. 13, 14.) and deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by the means of those miracles which he hath power to do. Nor indeed is any thing more congruous and reasonable, than that God (2 Theff. II. 10, 11.) should send men strong delusion, that they should believe a lie, because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved.

But to return from this digression, though I hope neither an improper nor unedifying digression, to our main subject.





XX.

The same subject continued.

P A R T III.

WE are now come to the last act of this dismal tragedy, the destruction of Jerusalem and the final dissolution of the Jewish polity in church and state, which our Saviour for several reasons might not think fit to declare nakedly and plainly, and therefore chooseth to clothe his discourse in figurative language. (ver. 29 and so on.) “He might possibly do it, as
“ (1) Dr. Jortin conceives, to perplex the unbelieving persecuting Jews, if his discourses
“ should ever fall into their hands, that they
“ might not learn to avoid the impending evil.”
Immediately after the tribulation of those days, shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heaven shall be shaken. Commentators generally understand this and what follows of the end of the world and of Christ’s coming

(1) Dr. Jortin’s Remarks on Ecclesiast. History, Vol. i. p. 75.

coming to judgment: but the words *immediately after the tribulation of those days* show evidently that he is not speaking of any distant event, but of something immediately consequent upon the tribulation before mentioned, and that must be the destruction of Jerusalem. It is true, his figures are very strong, but no stronger than are used by the ancient prophets upon similar occasions. The prophet Isaiah speaketh in the same manner of Babylon, (XIII. 9, 10.) *Behold the day of the Lord cometh, cruel both with wrath and fierce anger, to lay the land desolate; and he shall destroy the sinners thereof out of it. For the stars of heaven and the constellations thereof shall not give their light; the sun shall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine.* The prophet Ezekiel speaketh in the same manner of Egypt, (XXXII. 7, 8.) *And when I shall put thee out, I will cover the heaven, and make the stars thereof dark; I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give her light. All the bright lights of heaven will I make dark over thee, and set darkness upon thy land, saith the Lord God.* The prophet Daniel speaketh in the same manner of the slaughter of the Jews by the little horn, whether by the little horn be understood Antiochus Epiphanes or the power of the Romans; (VIII. 10.) *And it waxed great, even*

to the host of heaven ; and it cast down some of the host, and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them : And the prophet Joel of this very destruction of Jerusalem, (II. 30, 31.) And I will show wonders in the heavens, and in the earth, blood and fire and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and the terrible day of the Lord come. Thus it is that in the prophetic language great commotions and revolutions upon earth, are often represented by commotions and changes in the heavens.

Our Saviour proceedeth in the same figurative stile. (ver. 30.) *And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven ; and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory.* The plain meaning of it is, that the destruction of Jerusalem will be such a remarkable instance of divine vengeance, such a signal manifestation of Christ's power and glory, that all the Jewish tribes shall mourn, and many will be led from thence to acknowledge Christ and the Christian religion. In the ancient prophets God is frequently described as coming in the clouds, upon any remarkable interposition and manifestation of his power ; and the same description is here applied to Christ. The de-

struction of Jerusalem will be as ample a manifestation of Christ's power and glory, as if he was himself to come visibly in the clouds of heaven.

The same sort of metaphor is carried on in the next verse. (ver. 31.) *And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other.* This is all in the style and phraseology of the prophets, and stripped of its figures meaneth only, that after the destruction of Jerusalem Christ by his angels or ministers will gather to himself a glorious church out of all the nations under heaven. The Jews shall be *thrust out*, as he expresseth himself in another place, (Luke XIII. 28, 29.) *and they shall come from the east, and from the west, and from the north, and from the south; and shall sit down in the kingdom of God.* No one ever so little versed in history needeth to be told, that the Christian religion spread and prevailed mightily after this period; and hardly any one thing contributed more to this success of the gospel, than the destruction of Jerusalem, falling out in the very manner and with the very circumstances so particularly foretold by our blessed Saviour.

What

What Dr. Warburton hath (2) written upon the same subject will much illustrate and inforce the foregoing exposition. “ The prophecy of
“ Jesus, concerning the approaching destruction
“ of Jerusalem by Titus, is conceived in such
“ high and swelling terms, that not only the
“ modern interpreters, but the ancient likewise,
“ have supposed, that our Lord interweaves into
“ it a direct prediction of his second coming to
“ judgment. . Hence arose a current opinion in
“ *those* times, that the consummation of all
“ things was at hand ; which hath afforded a
“ handle to an infidel objection in *these*, in-
“ sinuating that Jesus, in order to keep his
“ followers attached to his service, and patient
“ under sufferings, flattered them with the
“ near approach of those rewards, which com-
“ pleted all their views and expectations. To
“ which, the defenders of religion have opposed
“ this answer, That the distinction of short and
“ long, in the duration of time, is lost in
“ eternity ; and with the Almighty, *a thousand*
“ *years are but as yesterday*, &c.

“ But the principle both go upon is false ;
“ and if what hath been said be duly weighed,
“ it will appear, that this prophecy doth not
“ respect

(2) Warburton's Julian, Book 1. Chap. 1. p. 21, &c. 2d Edit.
X. 2

(3) Divine

“ respect Christ’s *second* coming to judgment
“ but his *first*; in the abolition of the Jewish
“ policy, and the establishment of the Christian:
“ That kingdom of Christ, which commenced
“ on the total ceasing of the theocracy. For
“ as God’s reign over the Jews entirely ended
“ with the abolition of the temple-service, so
“ the reign of Christ, *in spirit and in truth*,
“ had then its first beginning.

“ This was the true *establishment* of Chris-
“ tianity, not that effected by the donations or
“ conversions of Constantine. Till the Jewish
“ law was abolished, over which the *Father*
“ presided as king, the reign of the *Son* could
“ not take place; because the sovereignty of Christ
“ over mankind, was that very sovereignty of God
“ over the Jews, *transferred*, and more largely
“ extended.

“ This therefore being one of the most im-
“ portant æras in the œconomy of grace, and
“ the most awful revolution in all God’s reli-
“ gious dispensations; we see the elegance and
“ propriety of the terms in question, to denote
“ so great an event, together with the destruc-
“ tion of Jerusalem, by which it was effected:
“ for in the old prophetic language the change
“ and fall of principalities and powers, whether
“ spiritual or civil, are signified by the shaking
“ heaven

“ heaven and earth, the darkening the sun.
“ and moon, and the falling of the stars; as
“ the rise and establishment of new ones are
“ by processions in the clouds of heaven, by
“ the sound of trumpets, and the assembling
“ together of hosts and congregations.”

“ This language, as he observes (3) in another
place, was borrowed from the ancient hieroglyphics.
“ For as in hieroglyphic writing the
“ sun, moon, and stars were used to represent
“ states and empires, kings, queens, and nobility;
“ their eclipse and extinction, temporary
“ disasters, or entire overthrow; &c; so in like
“ manner the holy prophets call kings and
“ empires by the names of the heavenly luminaries;
“ their misfortunes and overthrow are
“ represented by eclipses and extinction; stars
“ falling from the firmament are employed to
“ denote the destruction of the nobility; &c.
“ In a word, the prophetic stile seems to be a
“ speaking hieroglyphic. These observations
“ will not only assist us in the study of the Old
“ and New Testament, but likewise vindicate
“ their character from the illiterate cavils of
“ modern libertines, who have foolishly mistaken
“ *that* for the peculiar workmanship of
“ the

(3) Divine Legation. Vol. 2. Book 4. Sect. 4.

“ the prophet’s heated imagination, which was
 “ the sober established language of their times,
 “ and which God and his Son condescended to
 “ employ as the properest conveyance of the
 “ high mysterious ways of providence in the
 “ revelation of themselves to mankind.”

To St. Matthew’s account St. Luke addeth,
 (XXI. 24.) *And they shall fall by the edge of the
 sword, and shall be led away captive into all na-
 tions; and Jerusalem shall be troden down of the
 Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.*
 The number of those who fell by the edge of the
 sword was indeed very great. Of those who
 perished during the whole siege, there were, as
 Josephus (4) saith, eleven hundred thousand.
 Many were also slain (5) at other times and in
 other places. By the command of Florus, who
 was the first author of the war, there were slain
 at Jerusalem (6) three thousand and six hundred:
 By the inhabitants of Cæsarea (7) above twenty
 thousand: At Scythopolis (8) above thirteen
 thousand: At Ascalon (9) two thousand five
 hundred,

(4) τῶν δ’ ἀπολημμένων κατὰ πα-
 σαν τὴν πολιορκίαν, μυριάδες ἑκα-
 τὸν καὶ δέκα. totius autem obsi-
 dionis tempore undecies cen-
 tena hominum millia perierunt.
 De Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 9.
 Sect. 3. p. 1291. Edit. Hudson.
 (5) Just. Lipsius de Constan-
 tia. Lib. 2. Cap. 21. Usher’s

Annals in the conclusion. Bas-
 nage’s Hist. of the Jews. B. 1.
 Ch. 8. Sect. 19.

(6) Joseph. ibid. Lib. 2. Cap.
 14. Sect. 9.

(7) Ibid. Cap. 18. Sect. 1.

(8) Ibid. Sect. 3.

(9) Ibid. Sect. 5.

(1) Ibid. Sect. 8.

(2) Ibid.

hundred, and at Ptolemais two thousand: At Alexandria, under Tiberius Alexander the president, (1) fifty thousand: At Joppa, when it was taken by Cestius Gallus, (2) eight thousand four hundred: In a mountain called Afamon near Sepphoris (3) above two thousand: At Damascus (4) ten thousand: In a battle with the Romans at Ascalon (5) ten thousand: In an ambuscade near the same place (6) eight thousand: At Japha (7) fifteen thousand: Of the Samaritans upon mount Garizin (8) eleven thousand and six hundred: At Jotapa (9) forty thousand: At Joppa, when taken by Vespasian, (1) four thousand two hundred: At Tarichea (2) six thousand five hundred, and after the city was taken twelve hundred: At Gamala (3) four thousand slain, besides five thousand who threw themselves down a precipice: Of those who fled with John from Gischala (4) six thousand: Of the Gadarenes (5) fifteen thousand slain, besides an infinite number drowned: In the villages of Idumea (6) above ten thousand slain: At

Gerafa

(2) Ibid. Sect. 10.

(3) Ibid. Sect. 11.

(4) Ibid. Cap. 20. Sect. 2.

(5) Lib. 3. Cap. 2. Sect. 2.

(6) Ibid. Sect. 3.

(7) Ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 31.

(8) Ibid. Sect. 32.

(9) Ibid. Sect. 36.

(1) Ibid. Cap. 8. Sect. 3.

(2) Ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 9, 10.

(3) Lib. 4. Cap. 1. Sect. 10.

(4) Ibid. Cap. 2. Sect. 5.

(5) Ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 5.

(6) Ibid. Cap. 8. Sect. 1.

(7) Ibid.

Gerafa (7) a thousand: At Machærus (8) seventeen hundred: In the wood of Jarden (9) three thousand: In the castle of Masada (1) nine hundred and sixty: In Cyrene by Catullus the governor (2) three thousand. Besides these many of every age, sex and condition, were slain in this war, who are not reckoned; but of these who are reckoned, the number amounts to above one million, three hundred fifty seven thousand, six hundred and sixty; which would appear almost incredible, if their own historian had not so particularly enumerated them.

But besides the Jews who *fell by the edge of the sword*, others were also to *be led away captive into all nations*: and considering the numbers of the slain, the number of the captives too was very great. There were taken particularly at Japha (3) two thousand one hundred and thirty: At Jotapa (4) one thousand two hundred: At Tarichea (5)

fix

- (7) Ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 1.
 (8) Lib. 7. Cap. 6. Sect. 4.
 (9) Ibid. Sect. 5.
 (1) Ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 1.
 (2) Ibid. Cap. 11. Sect. 2.
 (3) Lib. 3. Cap. 7. Sect. 31.
 (4) Ibid. Sect. 36.
 (5) Ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 10.
 (6) Lib. 4. Cap. 7. Sect. 5.
 (7) Ibid. Cap. 8. Sect. 1.
 (8) τῶν δὲ νῦν τῆς ὑψηλοτάτης

καὶ καλῶς ἐπιλεξας ἐστὶν τῶν θείων ἀμείνων. τῆ δὲ λοιπῆς πλεονεξίας τῆς ὑπερ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἑτὴ θήσας ἐπιμύψιν εἰς τὰ κατ' Αἰγυπτίον ἔργα, πλείους δ' εἰς τὰς ἐπαρχίας διδώρησάτο Τιτος, φθαρσησόμενος ἐν τοῖς διατροῖς σιδήρῳ καὶ θηείοις. οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἑτὶν ἐπράθησαν. —Τῶν μὲν ἐν αἰχμαλωτῶν παστῶν, ὅσα καὶ ὅλον ἐληφθῆ τον πολέμου, ἀριθμὸς οὐκ ἐστὶν μυριάδες καὶ ἑπτακισχίλις.

six thousand chosen young men were sent to Nero, the rest sold to the number of thirty thousand and four hundred, besides those who were given to Agrippa: Of the Gadarenes (6) two thousand two hundred: In Idumea (7) above a thousand. Many besides these were taken at Jerusalem, so that as Josephus himself (8) informs us, the number of the captives taken in the whole war amounted to ninety seven thousand; the tall and handsome young men Titus reserved for his triumph; of the rest, those above seventeen years of age were sent to the works in Egypt, but most were distributed thro' the Roman provinces, to be destroyed in their theaters by the sword or by the wild beasts; those under seventeen were sold for slaves. Of these captives many underwent hard fate. Eleven thousand of them (9) perished for want. Titus exhibited all sorts of shows and spectacles at Cæsarea, and (1) many of

χιλιους συνηχθη. juvenes autem lectos, qui proceritate et forma cæteris præstarent, triumpho fervabat. Ex reliqua autem multitudine, annis XVII majores vinctos ad metalla exercenda, in Ægyptum misit; plurimos etiam per provincias distribuit Titus, in theatris ferro et bestiis contumendos. Quicunque vero infra XVII annum

ætatis erant, sub corona venditi sunt.—Et captivorum quidem omnium, qui totius belli tempore capti sunt, numerus erat ad nonaginta septem millia. Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 2 & 3. p. 1291. Pro ΕΡΕΑ ΕΙΡΗΝΟΡΤΑ Ιερεισσε Ιοσηφου censet Vilalpandus, tom. 3. p. 123.

(9) Ibid. Sect. 2.

(1) Lib. 7. Cap. 2. Sect. 1.

(2) Ibid.

of the captives were there destroyed, some being exposed to the wild beasts, and others compelled to fight in troops against one another. At Cæsarea too in honor of his brother's birth-day (2) two thousand five hundred Jews were slain; and a great number likewise at Berytus in honor of his father's. The like (3) was done in other cities of Syria. Those whom he reserved for his triumph (4) were Simon and John, the generals of the captives, and seven hundred others of remarkable stature and beauty. Thus were the Jews miserably tormented, and distributed over the Roman provinces; and are they not still distressed and dispersed over all the nations of the earth?

As the Jews were *to be led away captive into all nations*, so Jerusalem was *to be troden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled*. And accordingly Jerusalem hath never since been in the possession of the Jews, but hath constantly been in subjection to some other nation, as first to the Romans, and afterwards to the Saracens, and then to the Franks, and then to the Mamalucs, and now to the Turks.

Titus, as it was related before, (5) commanded

(2) Ibid. Cap. 3. Sect. 1. (5) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib.

(3) Ibid. Cap. 5. Sect. 1. 7. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudson.

(4) Ibid. Sect. 3. (6) Ibid. Sect. 2.

manded all the city as well as the temple to be destroyed: only three towers were left standing for monuments to posterity of the strength of the city, and so much of the wall as encompassed the city on the west, for barracks for the soldiers who were left there in garrison. All the rest of the city was so totally demolished, that there was no likelihood of its ever being inhabited again. The soldiers who were left there, were (6) the tenth legion, with some troops of horse and companies of foot, (7) under the command of Terentius Rufus. When Titus (8) came again to Jerusalem in his way from Syria to Egypt, and beheld the sad devastation of the city, and called to mind its former splendor and beauty, he could not help lamenting over it, and cursing the authors of the rebellion, who had compelled him to the cruel necessity of destroying so fine a city. Vespasian (9) ordered all the lands of the Jews to be sold for his own use; and all the Jews, wheresoever they dwelt, to pay each man every year the same sum to the capitol of Rome, that they had before paid to the temple at Jerusalem. The desolation was so complete, that Eleazar (1) said
to

(7) Ibid. Cap. 2.

(8) Ibid. Cap. 5. Sect. 2.

(9) Ibid. Cap. 6. Sect. 6.

(1) ὡς γεγονεν ἡμιν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ
εἶναι οἰκιστὴν πεπρωμένην; πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς
ἐκ βαδρῶν ἀνιπτασθαι, καὶ μόνον
αὐτῆς

to his countrymen; ‘What is become of our
 ‘city, which was believed to be inhabited by
 ‘God? It is rooted up from the very founda-
 ‘tions, and the only monument of it that is
 ‘left, is the camp of those who destroyed it,
 ‘still pitched upon its remains. Some unhappy
 ‘old men sit over the ashes of the temple, and
 ‘a few women reserved by the enemy for the
 ‘basest of injuries.’

The first who (2) rebuilt Jerusalem, tho’ not
 all exactly on the same spot, was the Roman
 emperor Ælius Adrian, and he called it after
 his own name Ælia, and placed in it a Roman
 colony, and dedicated a temple to Jupiter Capi-
 tolinus in the room of the temple of the true
 God. While he was visiting the eastern parts
 of the empire, he came to Jerusalem, as (3)
 Epiphanius informs us, forty-seven years after
 its destruction by Titus, and found the city
 all leveled with the ground, and the temple of
 God troden under foot, except a few houses:
 and

αυτης μνημειον ὑπολειπῆται, το των
 ανηρηκοτων αυτην γρατοπεδον, επι
 τοις λειψανοις εποικων, πρισβυται δε
 δυστηνοι τη σποδω τε τιμενης παρα-
 καθηνται, και γυναικες ολιγαι
 προς ἕβριν αισχισην ὑπο των πολε-
 μιων τιτηρημεναι. quid de ea
 factum est, quam Deum habi-

tasse credidimus? Radicitus ex
 fundamentis evulsa est, et id
 solum ejus monumentum relic-
 tum, castra scilicet illorum a qui-
 bus excisa est jam reliquiis ejus
 imposita. Senes vero infelices
 templi cineribus assident, et
 paucae mulieres ad turpissimam
 pudoris

and he then formed the resolution of rebuilding it, but his design was not put in execution till towards the latter end of his reign. The Jews, naturally of a seditious spirit, were inflamed (4) upon this occasion into open rebellion, to recover their native city and country out of the hands of heathen violators and oppressors: and they were headed by a man called (5) *Barchochab*, a vile robber and murderer, whose name signifying the *son of a star*, he confidently pretended that he was the person prophesied of by Balaam in those words, (Num. XXIV. 17.) *There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel.* They were (6) successful in their first enterprises thro' the neglect of the Romans: and it is probable, as the rebellion was raised for this purpose, that they made themselves masters of *Ælia*, or the new Jerusalem, and massacred or chased from thence the heathen inhabitants, and the Romans besieged and took it again; for we read in several authors,

in

pudoris injuriam ab hostibus reservatæ. Ibid. Cap. 8. Sect. 7. p. 1322.

(2) Dionis Cass. Hist. Lib. 69. p. 793. Edit. Leunclav. Hanov. 1606.

(3) Epiphan. de Mens. & Pond. Cap. 14. p. 170. Vol. 2.

Edit. Petavii.

(4) Dionis Hist. ibid.

(5) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib.

4. Cap. 6. Vide etiam Scaligeri Animadvers. in Eusebii Chron. p. 216.

(6) Dionis Hist. ibid.

(7) Euseb.

in (7) Eusebius, in (8) Jerome, in (9) Chrysostom, and in (1) Appian who lived at that time, that Jerusalem was again besieged by the Romans under Adrian, and was entirely burnt and consumed. However that be, the Jews were at length subdued with most terrible slaughter; (2) fifty of their strongest castles, and nine hundred and eighty five of their best towns were sacked and demolished; five hundred and eighty thousand men fell by the sword in battle, besides an infinite multitude who perished by famine, and sickness, and fire, so that Judea was almost all desolated. The Jewish (3) writers themselves reckon, that doubly more Jews were slain in this war, than came out of Egypt; and that their sufferings under Nebuchadnezzar and Titus were not so great as what they endured under the emperor Adrian. Of the Jews who survived this second ruin of their nation, an (4) incredible number of every age and sex were sold like horses, and dispersed over the face

(7) Euseb. *Demonst. Evang.* Lib. 2. Cap. 38. p. 71. Lib. 6. Cap. 18. p. 286. Edit. Paris. 1628.

(8) Hieron. in Jerem. XXXI. Col. 679. in Ezek. V. Col. 725. in Dan. IX. Col. 1117. in Joel. I. Col. 1340. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedikt.

(9) Orat. V. advers. Judæos.

Vol. 1. p. 645. Edit. Benedikt.

(1) Appian de Bell. Syr. p. 119. Edit. Steph. p. 191. Edit. Tollii.

(2) Dionis Hist. *ibid.* p. 794.

(3) Author libri *Juchasin scribit Hadrianum duplo plures Judæos in hoc bello trucidasse quam egressi sint ex Ægypto.*
Alius

face of the earth. The emperor completed his design, rebuilt the city, re-established the colony, ordered the (5) statue of a hog in marble to be set up over the gate that opened towards Bethlehem, and (6) published an edict strictly forbidding any Jew upon pain of death to enter the city, or so much as to look upon it at a distance.

In this state Jerusalem continued, being better known by the name of *Ælia*, till the reign of the first christian emperor, Constantine the great. The name of Jerusalem had grown into such disuse, and was so little remembered or known, especially among the Heathens, that when (7) one of the martyrs of Palestine, who suffered in the persecution under Maximin, was examined of what country he was, and answered of Jerusalem, neither the governor of the province, nor any of his assistants could comprehend what city it was, or where situated. But in Constantine's time it began to resume its ancient name;

Alius libro qui inscribitur מלכי
רומי, quem Drusius laudat in
Præteritis, *Non sic afflixisse eos*
Nebuchadnezzarem neque Titum,
sicut Hadrianus imperator. Mede's
Works, B. 3. p. 443.

(4) Hieron in Jerem. XXXI.
Col. 679. in Zach. XI. Col.
1774. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.
Chron. Alex. p. 596.

(5) Euseb. & Hieron. Chron.
Ann. 137.

(6) Euseb. Hist. Lib. 4. Cap.
6. Hieron. in Is. VI. Col. 65.
Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict. Justin.
Mart. Apol. Prim. p. 84. Edit.
Par. p. 71. Edit. Thirlbii.

(7) Euseb. de Mart. Palæst.
Cap. 11.

(8) תאחא

name; and this emperor enlarged and beautified it with so many stately edifices and churches, that (8) Eusebius said more like a courtier than a bishop, that this perhaps was the new Jerusalem, which was foretold by the prophets. The Jews, who hated and abhorred the Christian religion as much or more than the Heathen, (9) assembled again, as we learn from St. Chrysostom, to recover their city, and to rebuild their temple: but the emperor with his soldiers repressed their vain attempt; and having caused their ears to be cut off, and their bodies to be marked for rebels, he dispersed them over all the provinces of his empire, as so many fugitives and slaves.

The laws of Constantine, and of his son and successor Constantius, were likewise in other respects very severe against the Jews: but Julian, called the Apostate, the nephew of Constantine, and successor of Constantius, was more favorably inclined towards them; not that he really liked

(8) ταχα πη ταυτην υσαν την δια προφητικων δισπισματων κεκηρυγμενην καινην και νεαν Ιερουσαλημ. atque hæc forsitan fuerit recens illa ac nova Hierusalem, prophetarum vaticiniis prædicata. Euseb. de Vit. Const. Lib. 3. Cap. 33.

(9) Chrysostom. Orat. V. advers. Jud. Sect. 11. p. 645. Orat. VI. Sect. 2. p. 651. Vol.

1. Edit. Benedict.

(1) Juliani Epist. 25. Ιουδαιων τῇ κοινῇ. p. 396. Edit. Spanhemii.

(2)—ἵνα καγω τον των Περσων πολεμον διορδωσαμενος, την εκ πολλων ετων επιδυμμενην παρ' υμιν ιδειν οικημενην πολιν ἁγιαν Ιερουσαλημ, εμοις καματοις ανοικοδομησας οικησω, και εν αυτη δοξαι δωσω μεθ' υμων τῷ κριτῳ. —quo et ipse Perfico

liked the Jews but disliked the Christians, and out of prejudice and hatred to the Christian religion resolved to re-establish the Jewish worship and ceremonies. Our Saviour had said that *Jerusalem should be troden down of the Gentiles*; and he would defeat the prophecy, and restore the Jews. For this purpose he (1) wrote kindly to the whole body or community of the Jews, expressing his concern for their former ill treatment, and assuring them of his protection from future oppression; and concluding with a promise, that (2) if he was successful in the Persian war, he would rebuild the holy city Jerusalem, restore them to their habitations, live with them there, and join with them in worshipping the great God of the universe. His zeal even exceeded his promise; for before he set out from Antioch on his Persian expedition, he proposed to begin with (3) rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem, with the greatest magnificence.

Perfico bello ex animi sententia gesto, sanctam urbem Hierusalem, quam multos jam annos habitatam videre desideratis, meis laboribus reſectam incolam, et una vobiscum in ea optimo Deo gratias agam. Ibid. p. 398.

(3) Ambitiosum quondam apud Hierosolymam templum, quod post multa et interneciva certamina obsidente Vespasiano

posteaque Tito agrè est expugnatum, instaurare sumptibus cogitabat immodicis: negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat Antiochenſi, qui olim Britannias curaverat pro præfectis. Cum itaque rei idem fortiter instaret Alypius, juvenetque provinciæ rector, metuenti globi flammæ prope fundamenta crebris assaultibus

cence. He assigned immense sums for the building. He gave it in charge to Alypius of Antioch, who had formerly been lieutenant in Britain, to superintend and hasten the work. Alypius set about it vigorously. The governor of the province assisted him in it. But horrible balls of fire bursting forth near the foundations, with frequent assaults, rendered the place inaccessible to the workmen who were burnt several times: and in this manner the fiery element obstinately repelling them, the enterprize was laid aside. What a signal providence was it, that this no more than the former attempts should succeed and prosper; and that rather than the prophecies should be defeated, a prodigy was wrought even by the testimony of a faithful heathen historian? The interposition certainly was as providential, as the attempt was impious: and the account here given is nothing more than what Julian himself and his own historian have testified. There are indeed many witnesses to the truth of the fact, whom an (4) able critic hath well drawn together, and ranged in this order.

“ Ammianus Marcellinus an Heathen, Zemuch
 “ David a Jew, who confesseth that Julian was
 “ *divinitus*

erumpentes, fecere locum exitis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum: hocque modo ele-

mento destinatus repellente, cessavit inceptum. Amm. Marcell. Lib. 23. Cap. 1. p. 350. Edit.

“ *divinitus impeditus*, hindered by God in this
 “ attempt : Nazianzen and Chrysostom among
 “ the Greeks, St. Ambrose and Ruffinus
 “ among the Latins, who flourished at the very
 “ time when this was done : Theodoret and
 “ Sozomen orthodox historians, Philostorgius an
 “ Arian, Socrates a favorer of the Novatians,
 “ who writ the story within the space of fifty
 “ years after the thing was done, and whilst
 “ the eye-witnesses of the fact were yet sur-
 “ viving.” But the public hath lately been obliged
 with the best and fullest account of this whole
 transaction in Dr. Warburton’s Julian, where the
 evidence for the miracle is set in the strongest light,
 and all objections are clearly refuted, to the tri-
 umph of faith and the confusion of infidelity.

Julian was the last of the Heathen emperors.
 His successor Jovian made it the business of his
 short reign, to undo, as much as was possible,
 all that Julian had done : and the succeeding
 emperors were generally for repressing Judaism,
 in the same proportion as they were zealous for
 promoting Christianity. Adrian’s edict was (5)
 revived, which prohibited all Jews from entering
 into Jerusalem, or coming near the city ; and
 guards

Edit. Valesii. 1681.

(4) Whitby’s general Pre-
 face. p. xxviii.

(5) Augustini Serm. 5. Sect.
 5. l’om. 5. p. 23. Edit. Bene-
 dict. Antwerp. Salpicii Severi
 Hist.

guards were posted to enforce the execution of it. This was a very lucrative station to the soldiers; for the Jews (6) used to give money for permission to come and see the ruins of their city and temple, and to weep over them, especially on the day whereon Jerusalem had been taken and destroyed by the Romans. It doth not appear that the Jews had ever the liberty of approaching the city, unless by stealth or by purchase, as long as it continued in subjection to the Greek emperors. It continued in subjection to the Greek emperors, till this, as well as the neighbouring cities and countries, fell under the dominion of the Saracens. Only in the former part of the seventh century after Christ, and in the beginning of the reign of the emperor Heraclius, it was (7) taken and plundered by Chosroes king of Persia, and the greatest cruelties were exercised on the inhabitants. Ninety thousand Christians are said to have been sold and sacrificed to the malice and revenge of the Jews. But Heraclius soon repelled and routed the Persians, rescued Jerusalem out of their hands, and banished all Jews, forbidding

Hist. Lib. 2. p. 99. Edit. Elzevir. 1656.

(6) Hieron. in Sophon. I. Col. 1655. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

(7) Theoph. ad Heracl. p. 252. &c. Edit. Paris. p. 200. &c. Edit. Venet. Cedren. ad Heracl. p. 408. Edit. Paris. p. 322. &c. Edit. Venet. Bafnage's Hist. of the

bidding them, under the severest penalties, to come within three miles of the city.

Jerusalem was hardly recovered from the depredations of the Persians, before it was exposed to a worse evil by the conquering arms of the Saracens. It was in the beginning of the same seventh century, that Mohammed began to preach and propagate his new religion: and this *little cloud*, which was at first no bigger than *a man's hand*, soon overspread and darkened the whole hemisphere. Mohammed himself conquered some parts of Arabia. His successor Abubeker broke into Palestine and Syria. Omar the next caliph was one of the most rapid conquerors, who ever spread desolation upon the face of the earth. His reign was of no longer duration than ten years and a half; and in that time he subdued all Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Egypt. His (8) army invested Jerusalem. He came thither in person; and the Christians after a long siege being reduced to the greatest extremities, in the year of Christ 637, surrendered the city upon capitulation. He granted them honorable conditions; he would not allow
any

the Jews. Book 6. Chap. 18. Sect. 7.

(8) Elmacini Hist. Saracen. Lib. 1. p. 22, & 28. Edit. Erpenii. Herbelot. Biblioth. Ori-

entale. p. 687. Basnage's Hist. of the Jews. B. 6. Chap. 19. Sect. 2. Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens. Vol. 1. p. 243, &c.

any of their churches to be taken from them; but only demanded of the patriarch, with great modesty, a place where he might build a mosque. The patriarch showed him Jacob's stone, and the place where the temple of Solomon had been built, which the Christians had filled with ordure in hatred to the Jews. Omar began himself to cleanse the place, and he was followed in this act of piety by the principal officers of his army; and it was in this place that the first mosque was erected at Jerusalem. Sophronius the patriarch (9) said upon Omar's taking possession of the city, 'This is of a truth the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet standing in the holy place.' Omar the conqueror of Jerusalem is by some authors said also to have died there, being stabbed by a slave at morning prayers in the mosque which he had erected. Abdolmelik the son of Merwan, the twelfth caliph, (1) enlarged the mosque at Jerusalem, and ordered the people to go thither on pilgrimage instead of Mecca, which was then in the hands of the rebel Abdollah: and afterwards (2) when the pilgrimage to Mecca was by any accident interrupted, the Musselmens used to repair to

(9) Theophanes p. 281. Edit. Paris. p. 224. Edit. Venet. Bafnage, *ibid.* Ockley p. 249.

(1) Elmacin. *Hist. Sar. Lib.* 1. p. 58. Ockley, Vol. 2. p. 299.

(2) Herbelot *Bib. Orient.* p. 270.

(3) Elma-

to Jerusalem for the same purposes of devotion.

In this manner the holy city was transferred from the possession of the Greek Christians into the dominion of the Arabian Musselmén, and continued in subjection to the caliphs till the latter part of the eleventh century, that is above 400 years. At that time (3) the Turks of the Selzuccian race had made themselves masters of Persia, had usurped the government, but submitted to the religion of the country; and being firmly seated there, they extended their conquests as far as Jerusalem, and farther. They drove out the Arabians, and also despoiled the caliphs of their power over it; and they kept possession of it, till being weakened by divisions among themselves, they were ejected by the caliph of Egypt. The caliph of Egypt, perceiving the divisions and weakness of the Turks, advanced to Jerusalem with a great army; and the Turks expecting no succour, presently surrendered it to him. But though it thus changed masters, and passed from the Arabians to the Turks, and from the Turks to the Egyptians, yet the religion professed there was still the same, the Mohammedan being authorized

(3) Elmacini Hist. Saracen. Vers. Pocockii. Herbelot. Bib. Lib. 3. p. 267—287. Abul-
Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 9. p. 243.

rized and established, and the Christian only tolerated upon payment of tribute.

The Egyptians enjoyed their conquest but a little while; for in (4) the same year that they took possession of it, they were dispossessed again by the Franks as they are generally denominated, or the Latin Christians. Peter the hermit of Amiens in France went on a pilgrimage to Palestine, and there having seen and shared in the distresses and miseries of the Christians, he represented them at his return in such pathetic terms, that by his preaching and instigation, and by the authority of pope Urban II and the council of Clermont, the west was stirred up against the east, Europe against Asia, the Christians against the Musselmens, for the retaking of Jerusalem, and for the recovery of the holy land out of the hands of the infidels. It was the epidemic madness of the time; and old and young, men and women, priests and soldiers, monks and merchants, peasants and mechanics, all were eager to assume the cross, and to set out for what they thought the holy wars. Some assert that the number of those who went out on this expedition amounted to
above

(4) Abul-Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 9. p. 243. Verf. Pocockii. Elmacini Hist. Saracen. Lib. 3. p. 293. Herbelot Bib. Orient,

269. Savage's Abridg. of Knolles and Ricaut. Vol. 1. p. 12 &c. Voltaire's Hist. of Europe, of the

above a million. They who make the lowest computation affirm, that there were at least three hundred thousand fighting men. After some losses and some victories the army sat down before Jerusalem, and after a siege of five weeks they took it by storm, on the fifteenth of July in the year of Christ 1099; and all, who were not Christians, they put to the sword. They massacred above seventy thousand Mussulmen; and all the Jews in the place they gathered and burnt together; and the spoil that they found in the mosques was of inestimable value. Godfrey of Boulogne, the general, was chosen king; and there reigned nine kings in succession; and the kingdom subsisted eighty eight years, till the year of Christ 1187, when the Mussulmen regained their former dominion, and have retained it ever since,

At that time the famous Saladin, having subverted the government of the caliphs, had caused himself to be proclaimed sultan of Egypt. Having also subdued Syria and Arabia, he formed the (5) design of besieging Jerusalem, and of putting an end to that kingdom. He marched against it with a powerful and victorious army, and took it

the Crusades. Blair's Chronol. Tables.

(5) Elmacin. *ibid.* p. 293. Abul-Pharaj. *ibid.* p. 273, 74.

Herbelot. *ibid.* p. 269 & 743. Knolles and Savage, p. 54.

Voltaire *ibid.* Blair's Chronol. Tables.

(6) Herbelot

it by capitulation on Friday the 2d of October, after a siege of fourteen days. He compelled the Christians to redeem their lives at the price of ten pieces of gold for a man, five for a woman, and two for a boy or girl. He restored to the oriental Christians the church of the holy sepulchre; but forced the Franks or western Christians to depart to Tyre or other places, which were in the possession of their countrymen. But tho' the city was in the hands of the Mussulmen, yet the Christians had still their nominal king of Jerusalem; and for some time Richard I of England, who was one of the most renowned crusaders, and had eminently distinguished himself in the holy wars, gloried in the empty title. The city however (6) did not remain so assured to the family of Saladin, but thirty years after his nephew Al Moadham, sultan of Damascus, was obliged to demolish the walls, not being able to keep it himself, and fearing lest the Franks, who were then again become formidable in those parts, should establish themselves again in a place of such strength. Afterwards in the year 1228, (7) another of Saladin's family, Al Kamel, the sultan of Egypt, who

(6) Herbelot *ibid.* p. 269.
Knolles and Savage p. 74.
Voltaire *ibid.*

(7) Abul-Pharaj. *ibid.* p. 305.
Herbelot. *ibid.* p. 269. & 745.
Knolles and Savage p. 81. Vol-
taire

who after the death of his kinsman Al Moadham enjoyed part of his estates, to secure his own kingdom, made a treaty with the Franks, and yielded up Jerusalem to the emperor Frederic II, upon condition that he should not rebuild the walls, and that the mosques should be reserved for the devotions of the Mussulmen. Frederic was accordingly crowned king there, but soon returned into Europe. Not many years intervened, before (8) the Christians broke the truce; and Melecſalah, sultan of Egypt, being greatly offended, marched directly towards Jerusalem, put all the Franks therein to the sword, demolished the castle which they had built, sacked and rased the city, not even sparing the sepulchre of our Saviour, which till that time had never been violated or defiled; and (9) before the end of the same century, the crusaders or European Christians were totally extirpated out of the holy land, having lost in their eastern expeditions, according to some accounts, above two millions of persons.

Before this time the Mamalucs or the foreign slaves to the Egyptian sultans had usurped the govern-

taire *ibid.* and *Annals of the* Knolles and Savage, p. 83.
Empire. Ann. 1229.

(9) Knolles and Savage, p.
(8) Herbelot *ibid.* p. 269. 95. Voltaire *ibid.*

(1) Pocockii

government from their masters : and soon after this (1) Kazan the chan of the Mogul-Tartars made an irruption into Syria, routed Al Nafer the sultan of Egypt, had Damascus surrendered to him, and ordered Jerusalem to be repaired and refortified. But being recalled by great troubles in Persia, he was obliged to quit his new conquests, and the Mamaluc sultan of Egypt soon took possession of them again. In like manner (2) when the great Timur or Tamerlane, like a mighty torrent, overwhelmed Asia, and vanquished both the Turkish and Egyptian sultans, he went twice in passing and repassing to visit the holy city, gave many presents to the religious persons, and freed the inhabitants from subsidies and garrisons. But the ebb was almost as sudden as the flood. He died within a few years, and his sons and grandsons quarrelling about the succession, his vast empire in a little time mouldered away ; and Jerusalem with the neighbouring countries reverted to the obedience of

(1) Pocockii Supplem. ad Abul-Pharaj. p. 2. Knolles and Savage, p. 96.

(2) Chalcocondylas de rebus Turc. Lib. 3. Herbelot, p. 877, &c. Knolles and Savage, p. 138. &c.

(3) Τὸν δὲ τάφον Ἰησοῦ κ. τ. λ. Sepulchrum Jesu sub potestate istius regis in Palæstina situm

est, unde plurimum lucri ei accedit.—Situm in urbe Hierusalem, quæ devastata est cum maritimis regionibus. Chalcocond. ibid. p. 75. Edit. Paris. p. 59. Edit. Venet.

(4) Pocockii Supplem. ad Abul-Pharaj. p. 29, 30, 49. Herbelot. Bib. Orient. p. 802. Knolles and Savage, p. 240, &c. Prince

of the Mamalucs again. It was indeed in a ruined and desolate state, as Chalcocondylas (3) describes it, and the Christians paid large tribute to the sultans of Egypt for access to the sepulchre of Jesus. And in the same state it continued, with little variation, under the dominion of the Mamalucs, for the space of above 260 years, till at length this with the other territories of the Mamalucs fell a prey to the arms of the Turks of the Othman race.

It was about the year 1516 that (4) Selim the ninth emperor of the Turks turned his arms against Egypt; and having conquered one Sultan, and hanged another, he annexed Syria, Egypt, and all the dominions of the Mamalucs to the Othman empire. In his way to Egypt, he did as Kazan and Tamerlane had done before him; he (5) went to visit the holy city, the seat of so many prophets, and the scene of so many miracles. It lay at that time miserably deformed and ruined, according to the (6) account of a
contem-

Prince Cantemir's Hist. of the Othman empire, in Selim I.

(5) Pauli Jovii Hist. Lib. 17. Herbelot ibid. Knolles and Savage. p. 243. Prince Cantemir ibid. Sect. 21. p. 163.

(6) Paulus Jovius ibid. Ea tunc miserabili sacrarum ruinarum deformitate inculta atque deserta, non a Judæis veteribus

incolis, qui tunc toto orbe extorres inadmissi sceleris pœnam, nec sedem nec patriam habent, sed a paucis Christianis incolebatur. Ii cum ignominia et gravi admodum contumelia Christiani nominis, ob concessam venerandi sepulchri possessionem, grave tributum Aegyptiis regibus persolvunt, &c.

(7) -- et

contemporary historian, not inhabited by the Jews who were banished into all the world, but by a few Christians who paid large tribute to the Egyptian sultans for the possession of the holy sepulchre. Selim offered up his devotions at the monuments of the old prophets, and presented the Christian priests with as much money as was sufficient to buy them provisions for six months; and having stayed there one night, he went to join his army at Gaza. From that time to this the Othman emperors have (7) possessed it under the title of Hami, that is of protectors, and not of masters; tho' they are more properly tyrants and oppressors. Turks, Arabians, and Christians of various sects and nations dwell there out of reverence to the place; but very few Jews; and of those the greatest part, as (8) Basnage says, are beggars, and live upon alms. The Jews say, that when the Messiah shall come, the city will undergo a conflagration and inundation in order to be purified from the defilements, which the Christian and Mohammedan have committed in it; and therefore they choose not to settle there. But the writer just mentioned assigns two more probable and natural reasons. "One
" is, that the Mohammedans look upon Jerusa-
" lem

(7) — et ses successeurs l'ont possédée jusqu'à présent sous le titre de Hami, c'est-à-dire, de protecteurs, et non pas de maîtres.

“ lem as a holy place ; and therefore there are
 “ a great many *Santons* and devout Mussulmen,
 “ who have taken up their abode there, who
 “ are persecutors of the Jews as well as of the
 “ Christians, so that they have less tranquility
 “ and liberty at Jerusalem than in other places :
 “ and as there is very little trade, there is not
 “ much to be got, and this want of gain drives
 “ them away,”

By thus tracing the history of Jerusalem from the destruction by Titus to the present time, it appears evidently, that as the Jews have been *led away captive into all nations*, so Jerusalem hath been *trodén down of the Gentiles*. There are now almost 1700 years, in which the Jewish nation have been a standing monument of the truth of Christ's predictions, themselves dispersed over the face of the whole earth, and their land groaning under the yoke of foreign lords and conquerors : And at this day there is no reason to doubt but they will continue in the same state, nor ever recover their native country, *until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled*. Our Saviour's words are very memorable, *Jerusalem shall be trodén down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled*. It is still trodén down by

tres. Herbelot. p. 270.

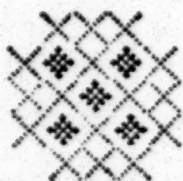
B. 7. Chap. 24. Sect. 10.

(8) Basnage Hist. of the Jews.

(1) Ωρα

by the Gentiles, and consequently the times of the Gentiles are not yet fulfilled. When *the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled*, then the expression implies that the Jews shall be restored: And for what reason, can we believe, that tho' they are dispersed among all nations, yet by a constant miracle they are kept distinct from all, but for the farther manifestation of God's purposes towards them? The prophecies have been accomplished to the greatest exactness in the destruction of their city, and its continuing still subject to strangers, in the dispersion of their people, and their living still separate from all people: and why should not the remaining parts of the same prophecies be as fully accomplished too in their restoration, at the proper season, when *the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled*? The times of the Gentiles will be fulfilled, when the times of *the four great kingdoms* of the Gentiles according to Daniel's prophecies shall be expired, and *the fifth kingdom* or the kingdom of Christ shall be set up in their place, and *the saints of the most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever.* Jerusalem, as it hath hitherto remained, so probably will remain in subjection to the Gentiles, *until these times of the Gentiles be fulfilled*; or as St. Paul expresseth it, (Rom. XI. 25, 26.) *until*

the fulness of the Gentiles be come in ; and so all Israel shall be saved, and become again the people of God. The fulness of the Jews will come in as well as the fulness of Gentiles. For (ver. 12, &c.) if the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles ; how much more their fulness ? For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in : And so all Israel shall be saved.





XXI.

The same subject continued.

P A R T. IV.

WHEN we first entered on an explanation of our Saviour's prophecies relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, comprised chiefly in this 24th chapter of St. Matthew, it was observed that the disciples in their question propose two things to our Saviour, first when should be the *time* of his coming or the destruction of Jerusalem, and secondly what should be the *signs* of it, (ver. 3.) *Tell us when shall these things be, and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the conclusion of the age.* The latter part of the question our Saviour answereth first, and treateth at large of the *signs* of the destruction of Jerusalem from the 4th verse of the chapter to the 31st inclusive. He toucheth upon the most material passages and accidents, not only of those which were to forerun this great event, but likewise of those which were to attend, and immediately to follow upon it: and having thus answered the latter part of the question, he proceeds

ceeds now in verse 32d to answer the former part of the question, as to the *time* of his coming and the destruction of Jerusalem.

He begins with observing that the signs which he had given would be as certain an indication of the time of his coming, as the fig-tree's putting forth its leaves is of the approach of summer; (ver. 32, 33.) *Now learn a parable of the fig-tree: when his branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh: So likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things, know that it is near, or he is near, even at the doors.* He proceeds to declare that the time of his coming was at no very great distance; and to show that he hath been speaking all this while of the destruction of Jerusalem, he affirms with his usual affirmation, (ver. 34.) *Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled.* It is to me a wonder how any man can refer part of the foregoing discourse to the destruction of Jerusalem, and part to the end of the world, or any other distant event, when it is said so positively here in the conclusion, *All these things shall be fulfilled in this generation.* It seemeth as if our Saviour had been aware of some such misapplication of his words, by adding yet greater force and emphasis to his affirmation, (ver. 35.) *Heaven and*

earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away. It is a common figure of speech in the oriental languages, to say of two things that the one shall be and the other shall not be, when the meaning is only that the one shall happen sooner or more easily than the other. As in this instance of our Saviour, *Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away,* the meaning is, Heaven and earth shall sooner or more easily pass away than my words shall pass away; the frame of the universe shall sooner or more easily be dissolved than my words shall not be fulfilled: And thus it is expressed by St. Luke upon a like occasion, (XVI. 17.) *It is easier for heaven and earth to pass than one tittle of the law to fail.*

In another place he says (Matt. XVI. 28.) *There are some standing here, who shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom:* intimating that it would not succeed immediately, and yet not at such a distance of time, but that some then living should be spectators of the calamities coming upon the nation. In like manner he says to the women, who bewailed and lamented him as he was going to be crucified, (Luke XXIII. 28.) *Daughters of Jerusalem,*

(1) *Ἰναυ* hic non diei particulam sed latius sumti temporis ambitum

Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children: which sufficiently implied, that the days of distress and misery were coming, and would fall on them and their children. But at that time there was not any appearance of such immediate ruin. The wisest politician could not have inferred it from the then present state of affairs. Nothing less than divine prescience could have certainly foreseen and foretold it.

But still the exact time of this judgment was unknown to all creatures, (ver. 36.) *But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no not the angels of heaven, but my Father only.* The word *ώρα* (1) is of larger signification than *hour*; and besides it seemeth somewhat improper to say *Of that day and hour knoweth no man*; for if the *day* was not known, certainly the *hour* was not, and it was superfluous to make such an addition. I conceive therefore that the passage should be rendered, not *Of that day and hour knoweth no man*, but *Of that day and season knoweth no man*, as the word is frequently used in the best authors both sacred and profane. It is true our Saviour declares *All these things shall be fulfilled in this generation*; it is true the prophet Daniel hath given

ambitum intelligo &c. Grot. in locum.

Z 3

(2) Proinde

given some intimation of the time in his famous prophecy of the seventy weeks: But tho' this great revolution was to happen in that generation; though it was to happen towards the conclusion of seventy weeks or 490 years to be computed from a certain date that is not easy to be fixed; yet the particular *day*, the particular *season* in which it was to happen, might still remain a secret to men and angels: And our Saviour had before (ver. 20.) advised his disciples to pray, that their *flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath-day*; the *day* not being known, they might pray that their flight be not on the *sabbath-day*; the *season* not being known, they might pray that their flight be not in the *winter*. As it was in the days of Noah, saith our Saviour, (ver. 37, 38, 39.) so shall it be now. As then, they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, till they were surprised by the flood, notwithstanding the frequent warnings and admonitions of that preacher of righteousness: so now, they shall be engaged in the business and pleasures of the world, little expecting little thinking of this universal ruin, till it come upon them, notwithstanding the express predictions and declarations of Christ and his apostles. *Then shall two be in the field, the one shall be taken, and the other left: Two women shall be grinding*

at

at the mill, the one shall be taken, and the other left. (ver. 40, 41.) That is, Providence will then make a distinction between such, as are not at all distinguished now. Some shall be rescued from the destruction of Jerusalem, like Lot out of the burning of Sodom; while others, no ways perhaps different in outward circumstances, shall be left to perish in it.

The matter is carried somewhat farther in the parallel place of St. Mark; and it is said not only that the angels were excluded from the knowlege of the particular time, but that the Son himself also was ignorant of it. The 13th chapter of that evangelist answers to the 24th of St. Matthew. Our Saviour treateth there of the signs and circumstances of his coming and the destruction of Jerusalem, from the 5th to the 27th verse inclusive; and then at verse the 28th he proceeds to treat of the time of his coming and the destruction of Jerusalem. The text in St. Matthew is, *Of that day and season knoweth no man, no not the angels of heaven, but my Father only.* The text in St. Mark is, *Of that day and season knoweth no man, no not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.* It is true the words *ο υιος*, *neither the Son*, were omitted in some copies of St. Mark, as they are inserted in some copies of St. Matthew: but

there is no sufficient authority for the omission in St. Mark, any more than for the insertion in St. Matthew. Erasmus and some of the moderns (2) are of opinion, that the words were omitted in the text of St. Matthew, lest they should afford a handle to the Arians for proving the Son to be inferior to the Father: but it was to little purpose to erase them out of St. Matthew, and to leave them standing in St. Mark. On the contrary St. Ambrose and some of the ancients (3) assert, that they were inserted in the text of St. Mark by the Arians: but there is as little foundation or pretence for this assertion, as there is for the other. It is much more probable, that they were omitted in some copies of St. Mark by some indiscreet orthodox, who thought them to bear too hard upon our Saviour's divinity. For all the most ancient copies and translations extant retain them; the most ancient fathers quote them, and comment upon them: and certainly it is easier for words to be omitted in a copy so as that the omission should not generally prevail afterwards, than it is for words to be inserted in a copy so as that the insertion should generally prevail afterwards. Admit the words there-

(2) Proinde suspicor hoc a esse Patre minorem, &c. Erasmi.
nonnullis subtractum, ne Arianis in locum.
esset ansa confirmandi Filium

(3) Ambrosius,

therefore as the genuin words of St. Mark we must, and we may without any prejudice to our Saviour's divinity. For Christ may be considered in two respects, in his human and in his divine nature; and what is said with regard only to the former, doth not at all affect the latter. As he was the great teacher and revealer of his Father's will, he might know more than the angels, and yet he might not know all things. It is said in St. Luke (II. 52.) that *Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man.* He increased in wisdom, and consequently in his human nature he was not omniscient. In his human nature he was the *son* of David; in his divine nature he was the *Lord* of David. In his human nature he was upon earth; in his divine nature he was *in heaven* (John III. 13.) even while upon earth. In like manner it may be said, that though as God he might know all things, yet he might be ignorant of some things as man. And of this particular the Messiah might be ignorant, because it was no part of his office or commission to reveal it. *It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power,* as our Saviour

(3) Ambros. de Fide. Lib. 5. sed non mirum est, si et hoc
Cap. 8. Veteres Græci codices falsârunt, qui scripturas inter-
non habent, *Quod nec filius scit*; polavère divinas.

(4) Amor

Saviour said (Acts I. 7.) when a like question was proposed to him. It might be proper for the disciples, and for the Jews too by their means, to know the signs and circumstances of our Saviour's coming and the destruction of Jerusalem; but upon many accounts it might be unfit for them both, to know the precise time.

Hitherto we have explained this 24th chapter of St. Matthew as relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, and without doubt as relating to the destruction of Jerusalem it is primarily to be understood. But though it is to be understood of this primarily, yet it is not to be understood of this only: for there is no question that our Saviour had a farther view and meaning in it. It is usual with the prophets to frame and express their prophecies so, as that they shall comprehend more than one event, and have their several periods of completion. This every one must have observed, who hath been ever so little conversant in the writings of the ancient prophets: and this I conceive to be the case here, and the destruction of Jerusalem to be typical of the end of the world. The destruction of a great city is a lively type and image of the end of the world; and we may observe that our Saviour no sooner begins to speak of the destruction

tion of Jerusalem, than his figures are raised, his language is swelled, and he expresseth himself in such terms, as in a lower sense indeed are applicable to the destruction of Jerusalem, but describe something higher in their proper and genuin signification *The sun shall be darkened, the moon shall not give her light, the stars shall fall from heaven, the powers of the heavens shall be shaken, the Son of man shall come in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory, and he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other :* These passages in a figurative sense as we have seen may be understood of the destruction of Jerusalem, but in their literal sense can be meant only of the end of the world. In like manner that text, *Of that day and season knoweth no man, no not the angels of heaven, but my Father only ;* the consistence and connection of the discourse oblige us to understand it as spoken of the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, but in a higher sense it may be true also of the time of the end of the world and the general judgment. All the subsequent discourse too, we may observe, doth not relate so properly to the destruction of Jerusalem, as to the end of the world and the general judgment. Our
Saviour

Saviour loseth sight as it were of his former subject, and adapts his discourse more to the latter. And the end of the Jewish state was in a manner the end of the world to many of the Jews.

The remaining part of the chapter is so clear and easy as to need no comment or explanation. It will be more proper to conclude with some useful reflections upon the whole.

It appears next to impossible, that any man should duly consider these prophecies, and the exact completion of them; and if he is a believer, not be confirmed in the faith; or if he is an infidel, not be converted. Can any stronger proof be given of a divine revelation than the spirit of prophecy; and can any stronger proof be given of the spirit of prophecy, than the examples now before us, in which so many contingencies, and I might say improbabilities, which human wisdom or prudence could never foresee, are so particularly foretold, and so punctually accomplished! At the time when Christ pronounced these prophecies, the Roman governor resided at Jerusalem, and had a force sufficient to keep the people in obedience: and could human prudence foresee that the city as well as the country would revolt and rebel against the Romans? Could human prudence foresee *famines*, and
pestilences,

pestilences, and *earthquakes* in divers places? Could human prudence foresee the speedy propagation of the gospel so contrary to all human probability? Could human prudence foresee such an utter destruction of Jerusalem with all the circumstances preceding and following it? It was never the custom of the Romans absolutely to ruin any of their provinces. It was improbable therefore that such a thing should happen at all, and still more improbable that it should happen under the humane and generous Titus, who was indeed, as he was (4) called, *the love and delight of mankind*.

What is usually objected to the other predictions of holy writ, cannot with any pretence be objected to these prophecies of our Saviour, that they are figurative and obscure; for nothing can be conveyed in plainer simpler terms, except where he affected some obscurity, as it hath been shown, for particular reasons. It is allowed indeed that some of these prophecies are taken from Moses and Daniel. Our Saviour prophesying of the same events hath borrowed and applied some of the same images and expressions. But this is a commendation rather than any discredit to this predictions. He
hath

(4) Amor ac deliciae humani generis. Suet. in Tito. Sect. 1.

(5) ταχα

hath built upon the foundations of the inspired writers before him; but what a superstructure hath he raised? He hath acted in this case as in every other, like one who came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them. He hath manifested himself to be a true prophet, by his exact interpretation and application of other prophets. He is also much more particular and circumstantial than either Moses or Daniel. In several instances his prophecies are entirely new, and properly his own: and besides he uses greater precision in fixing and confining the time to that very generation.

For the completion of these prophecies the persons seem to have been wonderfully raised up and preserved by divine providence. Vespasian was promoted from obscurity; and tho' feared and hated by Nero, yet was preferred by him, and singled out as the only general among the Romans who was equal to such a war; God perhaps, as (5) Josephus intimates, so disposing and ordering affairs. He had subdued the greatest part of Judea, when he was advanced to the empire; and he was happy in putting
an

(5) ταχα τι και περι των όλων
ηδη τε Θεω προοικοισμενη, for-
san et Deo aliquid de universis
præordinante. Joseph. de Bell.
Jud. Lib. 3. Cap. 1. Sect. 3.

p. 1118. Edit. Hudson.

(6) ενθα δη μαλιτα παρσι νοειν,
ετι και πολεμοις εσται και βασιλεων
κινδυνος μελονται τη Θεω. hinc sane
maxime

an end to the civil wars, and to the other troubles and calamities of the state, or otherwise he would hardly have been at leisure to prosecute the war with the Jews. Titus was wonderfully preserved in the most critical articles of danger. While he was taking a view of the city, he was surrounded by the enemy, and nothing less was expected than that he should be slain, or made prisoner: but he resolutely broke thro' the midst of them, and though unarmed yet arrived unhurt at his own camp: upon which (6) Josephus maketh this reflection, that from hence it is obvious to understand, that the turns of war and the dangers of princes are under the peculiar care of God. Josephus himself was also no less wonderfully preserved than Titus, the one to destroy the city, and the other to record its destruction. He marvelously escaped from the snares which were laid for him (7) by John of Gischala, and (8) by Jesus the chief of the robbers: and when (9) his companions were determined to kill him and themselves rather than surrender to the Romans, he prevailed with them to draw lots who should be killed,

maxime licet intelligere, Deo curæ esse et belli momenta et regum pericula. Ib. Lib. 5. Cap. 2. Sect. 2. p. 1216.

(7) Josephi Vita Sect. 17, &c.

(8) Ibid. Sect. 22.

(9) De Bell. Jud. Lib. 3. Cap. 7.

(1) Josephi

killed, the one after the other; and at last he was left with only one other, whom he persuaded to submit with him to the Romans. Thus was he saved from the most imminent destruction; and he himself esteemed it, as it certainly was, a singular instance of divine providence.

As Vespasian and Titus seem to have been raised up and preserved for the completion of these prophecies, so might Josephus for the illustration of their completion. For the particular passages and transactions, by which we prove the completion of these prophecies, we derive not so much from Christian writers, who might be suspected of a design to parallel the events with the predictions, as from Heathen authors, and chiefly from Josephus the Jewish historian, who tho' very exact and minute in other relations, yet avoids as much as ever he can the mention of Christ and the Christian religion. He doth not so much as once mention the name of *false Christs*, though he hath frequent occasions to speak largely of *false prophets*; so cautious was he of touching upon any thing, that might lead him to the acknowledgement of the true Christ. His silence here is as remarkable, as his copiousness upon other subjects. It is indeed very providential, that a more particular
detail

detail, a more exact history is preserved of the destruction of Jerusalem, and of all the circumstances relating to it, than of any other matter whatsoever transacted so long ago: and it is an additional advantage to our cause, that these accounts are transmitted to us by a Jew, and by a Jew who was himself an eye-witness to most of the things which he relates. As a general in the wars he must have had an exact knowledge of all transactions, and as a Jewish priest he would not relate them with any favor or partiality to the Christian cause. His history (1) was approved by Vespasian and Titus (who ordered it to be published) and by king Agrippa and many others, both Jews and Romans, who were present in those wars. He had likewise many enemies, who would readily have convicted him of any falsification, if he had been guilty of any. He designed nothing less, and yet as if he had designed nothing more, his history of the Jewish wars may serve as a larger comment on our Saviour's prophecies of the destruction of Jerusalem. If any one would compare our Saviour's words with that writer's history of the whole war, as

Eusebius

(1) Josephi Vita. Sect. 65. Contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 9.
Vol. II. A a

(2) 209-

(2) Eusebius very well observes, he could not but admire and acknowledge our Saviour's pre-science and prediction to be wonderful above nature, and truly divine.

The predictions are the clearest, as the calamities were the greatest which the world ever saw: and what hainous sin was it, that could bring down such heavy judgments on the Jewish church and nation? Can any other with half so much probability be assigned, as what the scripture assigns, their crucifying the Lord of glory? As St. Paul expresseth it, (1 Thes. II. 15, 16.) *They both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and persecuted the apostles, and so filled up their sins, and wrath came upon them to the uttermost.* This is always objected as the most capital sin of the nation: and upon reflection, we shall find really some correspondence between their crime and their punishment. They put Jesus to death, when the nation was assembled to celebrate the passover; and when
the

(2) συγκρίνας δὲ τις τὰς τῷ σωτήρος ἡμῶν λέξεις ταῖς λοιπαῖς τῇ συγγραφῇ ἱστορίαις ταῖς περὶ τὸ πάντες πόλεμον, πῶς ἢ ἂν ἀποδυναμώσιν, θύειν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ὑπερφῶς παραδοξοῖ τῶν πραγμάτων τε καὶ προρρήσει τῷ σωτήρος ἡμῶν ἐμιλογησά. Quod si quis serva-

toris nostri verba cum iis comparet, quæ ab eodem scriptore de universo bello commemorata sunt, fieri non potest quin admiretur præscientiam ac prædictionem servatoris nostri, eamque verè divinam et supra modum stupendam esse fateatur.
Euseb.

the (3) nation was assembled too to celebrate the passover, Titus shut them up within the walls of Jerusalem. The rejection of the true Messiah was their crime; and the following of false Messiahs to their destruction was their punishment. They sold and bought Jesus as a slave; and they themselves were afterwards sold and bought as slaves at the lowest prices. They preferred a robber and murderer to Jesus, whom they crucified between two thieves; and they themselves (4) were afterwards infested with bands of thieves and robbers. They put Jesus to death, lest the Romans should come and take away their place and nation; and the Romans did come and take away their place and nation. They crucified Jesus before the walls of Jerusalem; and before the walls of Jerusalem they themselves were crucified in such numbers, that it is (5) said room was wanting for the crosses, and crosses for the bodies. I should think it hardly possible for any man to lay

Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 7.

(3) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 3 & 4. Euseb. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 5.

(4) Joseph. ibid. Lib. 2. Cap. 4. & 13. Lib. 3. Cap. 8. Lib.

4. Cap. 3. Lib. 7. Cap. 8. &c.

(5) και δια το πληθος χωρα τε περιλειπιτο τοις σταυροις, και σταυροις τοις σωμασιν. et propter multitudinem spatium crucibus deerat, et corporibus cruces. Ibid. Lib.

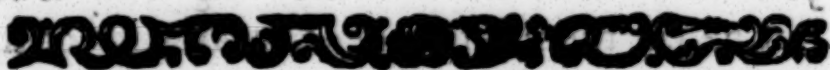
5. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. p. 1247.

riding divine things, and making a jest of the oracles of the prophets as so many dreams and fables: and how hath the same spirit of licentiousness and infidelity prevailed likewise among us? How have the laws and lawful authority been insulted with equal insolence and impunity? How have the holy scriptures, those treasures of divine wisdom, not only been neglected, but despised, derided, and abused to the worst purposes? How have the principal articles of our faith been denied, the prophecies and miracles of Moses and the prophets of Christ and his apostles been ridiculed, and impiety and blasphemy not only been whispered in the ear, but proclaimed from the press? How hath all public worship and religion, and the administration of the sacraments been slighted and contemned, and the sabbath profaned by those chiefly who ought to set a better example, to whom much is given, and of whom therefore much will be required? And if for their sins and provocations (Rom. XI. 21, 20.) *God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee. Because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith. Be not high-minded,*

conculcabatur, divina autem torum commenta subfannabant.
quæque deridebantur, et pro- Ibid. Lib. 4. Cap. 6. Sect. 3.
phetarum oracula ut præstigia- p. 1188. Edit. Hudson.

mind, but fear. God bore long with the Jews ; and hath he not bore long with us too ? But he cut them off, when the measure of their iniquities was full ; and let us beware lest our measure be not also well-nigh full, and we be not growing ripe for excision. What was said to the church of Ephesus, is very applicable to us and our own case, (Rev. II. 5.) Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works ; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent.





XXII.

St. PAUL's prophecy of the Man of Sin.

AS our blessed Saviour hath cited and appealed to the book of Daniel, so likewise have his apostles drawn from the same fountain. St. Paul's and St. John's predictions are in a manner the copies of Daniel's originals with some improvements and additions. The same times, the same persons, and the same events are described by St. Paul and St. John as well as by Daniel; and it might therefore with reason be expected, that there should be some similitude and resemblance in the principal features and characters.

St. Paul hath left in writing, besides others, two most memorable prophecies, both relating to the same subject, the one concerning *the man of sin*, the other concerning *the apostasy of the latter times*, the former contained in the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, and the latter in the first Epistle to Timothy. The prophecy concerning *the man of sin*, having been delivered

first in time, may fitly be considered first in order: and for the fuller manifestation of the truth and exactness of this prediction, it may be proper 1st to investigate the genuin sense and meaning of the passage; 2dly to show how it hath been mistaken and misapplied by some famous commentators; and 3dly to vindicate and establish what we conceive to be the only true and legitimate application.

I. In the first place it is proper to investigate the genuin sense and meaning of the passage; for a prophecy must be rightly understood, before it can be rightly applied. The apostle introduces the subject thus, (2 Thes. II. 1, 2.) *Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him, That ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand.* The preposition, which is translated *by*, ought rather to have been translated *concerning*, as it signifies (1) in other places of scripture, and in other authors both Greek and Latin. *Now we beseech you, brethren, concerning the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ,*
and

(1) So it is rendered Rom. IX. 27. Ἡμεῖς δὲ παρακαλοῦμεν ὑμᾶς, Ἐσαίας αὐτὸς κρῖναι con-

cerning Israel. See likewise 2 Cor. I. 7. VIII. 23, 24. &c. Galen, Lib. I. ad Glauc. ὑπερ

and our gathering together unto him. For he doth not beseech them by the coming of Christ, but the coming of Christ is the subject of which he is treating; and it is in relation to this subject, that he desires them not to be disturbed or affrighted, neither by revelation, nor by message, nor by letter, as from him, as if the day of Christ's coming was at hand. The phrases of *the coming of Christ* and *the day of Christ* may be understood, either figuratively of his coming in judgment upon the Jews, or literally of his coming in glory to judge the world. Sometimes indeed they are used in the former sense, but they are more generally employed in the latter, by the writers of the New Testament: and the latter is the proper signification in this place, as the context will evince beyond contradiction. St. Paul himself had planted the church in Thessalonica; and it consisted principally of converts from among the gentile idolaters, because it is said (1 Thes. I. 9.) that *they turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God.* What occasion was there therefore to admonish them particularly of the destruction of Jerusalem? Or (2) why should they

πᾶσι γράψαι ἐκ ὑψώσεως, de omnibus scribere non datur. Virgil Æn. I. 750. Multa super

Priamo rogans, *super* Hecore multa.

(2) At quis huic terrori locus, si

they be under such agitations and terrors upon that account? What connexion had Macedonia with Judea, or Thessalonica with Jerusalem? What share were the Christian converts to have in the calamities of the rebellious and unbelieving Jews; and why should they not rather have been comforted than troubled at the punishment of their inveterate enemies? Besides (3) how could the apostle deny that the destruction of the Jews was at hand, when it was at hand, as he saith himself, (1 Thes. II. 16.) and *the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost*? He knew, and they knew, for our Saviour had declared, that the destruction of Jerusalem would come to pass *in that generation*: and what a ridiculous comfort must it be to tell them, that it would not happen immediately, but would be accomplished within less than twenty years? The phrases therefore of *the coming of Christ* and *the day of Christ* cannot in this place relate to the destruction of Jerusalem, but must necessarily be taken in the more general acceptation of his coming to judge the world. So the phrase is constantly used in the former Epistle. In one place the apostle

si de Judæorum excidio agebatur? Quid Macedonia cum Judæa, Thessal. cum Hieros. ? quid commune Christianis cum

periculo rebellium Judæorum? &c. Simplicius in Poli-Synops.

(3) Præterea, quo jure potest apostolus

apostle saith (II. 19.) *What is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming?* In another place he wisheth, (III. 13.) that *the Lord may stablish their hearts unblameable in holiness before God, even our father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his saints*: And in a third place he prayeth, (V. 23.) that *their whole spirit, and soul, and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ*. These texts evidently refer to the general judgment: and if the phrase be constantly so employed in the former Epistle, why should it not be taken after the same manner in this Epistle? In the former Epistle the apostle had exhorted the Thessalonians to moderate sorrow for the dead by the consideration of the resurrection and the general judgment. (IV. 13. &c.) *I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died, and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus, will God bring with him. For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive, and remain*
unto

apostolus inficiari, Judæorum excidium imminere, cum reipsa jam adesset; uti liquet ex prioris epistolæ Cap. 2. ver.

16. Bocharti Examen libelli de Antichristo. Tom. 2. Col. 1046.

(4) ½ articulus

unto the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we which are alive, and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord. But of the times and the seasons of these things, as he proceeds, (V. 1, 2.) brethren, ye have no need that I write unto you. For yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night. Some persons having mistaken the apostles meaning, and having inferred from some of these expressions, that the end of the world was now approaching, and the day of Christ was at hand, the apostle sets himself in this place to rectify that mistaken notion: and it is with reference to this coming of Christ, to this day of the Lord, to this our gathering together unto him in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air, that he beseeches the Thessalonians not to be shaken from their steadfastness, nor to be troubled and terrified, as if it was now at hand. Nothing then can be more evident and undeniable, than that the coming of Christ here intended is his second coming in glory to judge the world: and of this

this his second coming the apostle had spoken before, in this same Epistle, and in the chapter before this. (ver. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.) *It is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you; And to you who are troubled, rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, In flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ: Who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power; When he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that believe in that day.*

It was a point of great importance for the Thessalonians not to be mistaken in this particular; because if they were taught to believe that the coming of Christ was at hand, and he should not come according to their expectation, they might be staggered in their faith, and finding part of their creed to be false, might be hasty enough to conclude that the whole was so. The apostle therefore cautions them in the strongest manner against this delusion; and assures them that other memorable events will take place before the coming of our Lord. (ver. 3 and 4.) *Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there*

come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God. The day of Christ shall not come, *εαν μη ελθῃ ἡ ἀποστασία πρῶτον*, except there come the apostasy first. The apostasy here described is plainly not of a civil, but of a religious nature; not a revolt from the government, but a defection from the true religion and worship, *a departing from the faith*, (1 Tim. IV. 1.) *a departing from the living God*, (Hebr. III. 12.) as the word is used by the apostle in other places. In the original it is *the apostasy* with an article to give it an emphasis. The article being added, as Erasmus (4) remarks, signifies that famous and before predicted apostasy. So likewise it is *ὁ ἀνδρῶνος τῆς ἀμαρτίας* *the man of sin* with the like article and the like emphasis: and St. (5) Ambrose, that he might express the force of the article, hath rendered it *that man*, as have likewise our English translators. If then the notion of *the man of sin* be derived from any ancient prophet, it must be derived from Daniel, who hath described the like arrogant and tyrannical power: (VII. 25.) *He shall speak great words*

(4) ὁ articulus additus significat insignem illam et ante prædictam defectionem. Erasmus. in locum.

(5) D.

words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws: and again (XI. 36.) The king shall do according to his will and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every God, and shall speak marvelous things against the God of Gods. Any man may be satisfied, that St. Paul alluded to this description by Daniel, because he hath not only borrowed the ideas, but hath even adopted some of the phrases and expressions. *The man of sin* may signify either a single man, or a succession of men. A succession of men being meant in Daniel, it is probable, that the same was intended here also. It is the more probable, because a single man appears hardly sufficient for the work here assigned: and it is agreeable to the phraseology of scripture, and especially to that of the prophets, to speak of a body or number of men under the character of one. Thus *a king* (Dan. VII. VIII. Rev. XVII.) is often used for a succession of kings, and *the high priest* (Heb. IX. 7, 25.) for the series and order of high priests. A single beast (Dan. VII. VIII. Rev. XIII.) often represents a whole empire or kingdom in all its changes and revolutions from the beginning to the end. *The woman clothed with the sun.*

(Rev.

(5) D. Ambrosius, ut ex ille &c. Erasmi. ibid. plicaret vim articuli, legit homo

(6) Verum

(Rev. XII. 1.) is designed as an emblem of the true church; as the *woman arrayed in purple and scarlet* (Rev. XVII. 4.) is the portrait of a corrupt communion. No commentator ever conceived the *whore of Babylon* to be meant of a single woman; and why then should the *man of sin* be taken for a single man? The *man of sin* seemeth to be expressed from Daniel (VII. 24.) according to the Greek translation, ὅς ὑπερβαίνει κακοῖς πάντας τὰς ἐμπροσθεν, *he shall exceed in evil all who went before him*: and he may fulfil the character either by promoting wickedness in general, or by advancing idolatry in particular, as the word *sin* frequently signifies in scripture. The *son of perdition* is also the denomination of the traitor Judas, (John XVII. 12.) which implies that the *man of sin* should be, like Judas, a false apostle, like him betray Christ, and like him be devoted to destruction. *Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped*: this is manifestly copied from Daniel, *He shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every God, and speak marvelous things against the God of Gods*. The features, you see, exactly resemble each other. *He opposeth and exalteth himself above all*

(6) Verùm a Christi obitu templum Hierosolymitanum nunquam ab apostolis templum

Dei vocatur; et si quando de Dei aede vel templo sermonem habeant, tum vel ecclesiam in genere,

all, ἐπὶ πάντας above every one, that is called God or that is worshipped, ἡ σεβασμὰ, alluding to the title of the Roman emperors, σεβαστος august or venerable. He shall oppose, for the prophets speak of things future as present; he shall oppose, and exalt himself not only above inferior magistrates, who are sometimes called Gods in holy writ, but even above the greatest emperors, and shall arrogate to himself divine honors. So that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God: By the temple of God the apostle could not well mean the temple at Jerusalem, because that he knew very well would be totally destroyed within a few years. It is an observation of the learned Bochart, that (6) after the death of Christ the temple at Jerusalem is never called by the apostles the temple of God; and if at any time they make mention of the house or temple of God, they mean the church in general, or every particular believer. It is certain, the temple or house of God is the Christian church in the usual stile of the apostles. St. Paul thus addresseth the Corinthians in his first Epistle, (III. 16, 17.) Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth

genere, vel singularem quem-
que fidelem, iis vocibus intel-
lecta volunt. Bocharti Examen

Libelli de Antichristo. Tom. 2.
Col. 1047.

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B b

(7) De-

dwelleth in you? If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy: for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are: and thus again in his second Epistle, (VI. 16.) What agreement hath the temple of God with idols? for ye are the temple of the living God. He adviseth Timothy (1 Tim. III. 15.) how he ought to behave himself in the house of God, which is the church of the living God, as a pillar and ground of the truth. St. John also writeth thus to the angel of the church in Philadelphia, (Rev. III. 12.) Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God. These few examples out of many are sufficient to prove, that under the gospel dispensation the temple of God is the church of Christ: and the man of sin's sitting implies his ruling and presiding there, and sitting there as God implies his claiming divine authority in things spiritual as well as temporal, and showing himself that he is God implies his doing it with great pride and pomp, with great parade and ostentation.

These things were not asserted now merely to serve the present occasion. The apostle had insisted upon these topics, while he was at Thessalonica; so that he thought it a part of his duty, as he made it a part of his preaching and doctrine, to forewarn his new converts of the grand apostasy that would infest the church.

(ver.

(ver. 5, 6, 7.) *Remember ye not, that when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth, that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth, will lett, until he be taken out of the way. The man of sin therefore was not then revealed. His time was not yet come, or the season for his manifestation. The mystery of iniquity was indeed already working: for there is a mystery of iniquity as well as a mystery of godliness, (1 Tim. III. 16.) the one in direct opposition to the other. The seeds of corruption were sown, but they were not yet grown up to any maturity. The leaven was fermenting in some parts, but it was far from having yet infected the whole mass. The man of sin was yet hardly conceived in the womb; it must be some time before he could be brought forth. There was some obstacle that hindered his appearance, the apostle speaketh doubtfully whether thing or person; and this obstacle would continue to hinder, till it was taken out of the way. What this was we cannot determin with absolute certainty at so great a distance of time; but if we may rely upon the concurrent testimonies of the fathers, it was the Roman empire. Most probably it was somewhat relating to the higher powers, because the apostle observes such*

caution. He mentioned it in discourse, but would not commit it to writing. He afterwards exhorts the Thessalonians, (ver. 15.) *Brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle.* This was one of the traditions which he thought more proper to teach by word than by epistle.

When this obstacle shall be removed, *then*, as the apostle proceeds, (ver. 8.) *shall that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming.* Nothing can be plainer than that *ὁ ἀνομος*, the lawless, the wicked one here mentioned and *the man of sin* must be one and the same person. The apostle was speaking before of what hindered that he should be revealed, and would continue to hinder until it was taken out of the way; *And then shall the wicked one be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume &c.* Not that he should be consumed immediately after he was revealed; but the apostle, to comfort the Thessalonians, no sooner mentions his revelation, than he foretels also his destruction, even before he describes his other qualifications. His other qualifications should have been described first in order of time, but the apostle hastens to what was first and warmest in his thoughts and wishes. *Whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his*
mouth,

mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming. If these two clauses refer to two distinct and different events, the meaning manifestly is, that the Lord Jesus shall gradually consume him with the free preaching and publication of his word, and shall utterly destroy him at his second coming in the glory of his Father with the holy angels. If these two clauses relate to one and the same event, it is a pleonasm that is very usual in the sacred as well as in all oriental writings; and the purport plainly is, that the Lord Jesus shall destroy him with the greatest facility, *when he shall be revealed from heaven* (as the apostle hath expressed it in the preceding chapter) *with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

The apostle was eager to foretel the destruction of the man of sin; and for this purpose having broken in upon his subject, he now returns to it again, and describes the other qualifications, by which this wicked one should advance and establish himself in the world. He should rise to credit and authority by the most diabolical methods, should pretend to supernatural powers, and boast of revelations, visions, and miracles, false in themselves, and applied to promote false doctrines. (ver. 9.) *Whose coming*

is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders. He should likewise practise all other wicked arts of deceit, should be guilty of the most impious frauds and impositions upon mankind; but should prevail only among those who are destitute of a sincere affection for the truth, whereby they might obtain eternal salvation. (ver. 10.) And with all de-ceivableness of unrighteousness, in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And indeed it is a just and righteous judgment of God, to give them over to vanities and lies in this world, and to condemnation in the next, who have no regard for truth and virtue, but delight in falsehood and wickedness. (ver. 11 and 12.) And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie: That they all might be damned, who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in un-righteousness.

II. Upon this survey there appears little room to doubt of the genuin sense and meaning of the passage;

(7) Denudet ingenium suum Caius.—Sic et Caius omnibus se Diis gentium prætulit, etiam Jovi Olympio et Capitolino.—Recte autem dicitur Caius *semet posuisse in templo Dei*, quia simulacrum suum ibi collocari iussit.—L. Vitellius, cum Paulus ista

diceret, et hæc scriberet, Syriam et Judæam tenebat, vir apud Judæos gratus, et magnis exercitibus imperans, cui propterea facile fuisset, si tam graviter Judæorum animos exasperasset Caius, eorum tutelam suscipere et provinciam sui facere

passage; but it hath strangely been mistaken and misapplied by some famous commentators, tho' more agree in the interpretation than in the application of this prophecy.

1. Excellently learned as Grotius was, a consummate scholar, a judicious critic, a valuable author; yet was he certainly no prophet, nor son of a prophet. In explaining the prophecies, scarcely have more mistakes been committed by any of the worst and weakest commentators, than by him who is usually one of the best and ablest. He understands this prophecy of the times preceding the destruction of Jerusalem. *The man of sin* (7) was the Roman emperor Caligula, who did not at first discover his wicked disposition. He vainly preferred himself before all the gods of the nations, even before Jupiter Olympius and Capitolinus; and ordered his statue to be set up in the temple at Jerusalem. He was hindered from disclosing and exercising his intended malice against the Jews by his awe of Vitellius, who was at that time governor of Syria

cere juris. Ideo Caius, antequam propositum exsequeretur, tempus expectabat quo L. Vitellius e provincia decederet. — Recte autem *impius* dicitur Simon Magus, qui paulo post initia Claudiani principatus Romanam venit — Bene autem dicitur

Christus fecisse quod fecit per Petrum — Ostenta ista et prodigia Simonis magica &c. — Decipiuntur ab eo homines male perituri. Intelligit Samaritanos primum, deinde et Romanos. Vide Grot. in locum et de Antichristo.

Syria and Judea, and was as powerful as he was beloved in those provinces. What follows Grotius could not by any means accommodate to Caligula, and therefore substitutes another, and supposes that *the wicked one* was Simon Magus, who was revealed and came to Rome soon after the beginning of the reign of Claudius. He was there baffled and disgraced by St. Peter; but Christ may well be said to have done what was done by Peter. He pretended also to work great miracles, and by his magical illusions deceived many, the Samaritans first, and afterwards the Romans. But in answer it may be observed, that this Epistle of St. Paul, as (8) all other good critics and chronologers agree, and as is evident indeed from history, was written in the latter part of the reign of Claudius, who was successor to Caligula: and if so, the apostle according to this interpretation is here prophesying of things which were past already. *The coming of Christ*, as it hath been before proved undeniably, relates to a more distant period than the destruction of Jerusalem. Besides how could Caligula with any tolerable sense and meaning be called an *apostate*

(8) Pearsonii Annales Paulini p. 13. Sam. Basnagii Annales. A. D. 51. Sect. 74. A. D. 52. Sect. 12. Whitby Pref. Calmer. Pref. &c. &c.

(9) Philo de Legatione ad Caium. μηδεν επι τῷ ἱερῷ των Ἰουδαίων επι νεωτερον κτισειν. nequid in Judæorum templo novaret. p. 1038. Edit. Paris. 1640.

(1) Exemplar

apostate from either the Jewish or the Christian religion? He never *sat in the temple of God*; he commanded indeed his statue to be placed there; but was dissuaded from his purpose, as (9) Philo testifies, by the intreaties of king Agrippa, and sent an order to Petronius governor of Syria not to make any innovation in the temple of the Jews. He was so far from being kept in awe by the virtues of Vitellius, that Vitellius on the contrary was a most sordid adulator, as both (1) Tacitus and Suetonius expressly affirm; and instead of restraining Caligula from affecting divine honors, he was the first who incited him to it. Moreover it is doing the greatest violence to the context, to make *the man of sin* and *the wicked one* two distinct persons, when they are so manifestly one and the same. The contest between St. Peter and Simon Magus at Rome, if ever it happened at all, did not happen in the reign of Claudius: but most probably there never was any such transaction; the whole story is palpably a fabulous legend, and consequently can be no foundation for a true exposition of any prophecy. Where too is the consistency

(1) Exemplar apud posteros
adulatorii dedecoris habetur.
Tacit. Annal. Lib. 6. p. 71.
Edit. Lipsii. Idem miri in adu-

lando ingenii, primus C. Cæsa-
rem adorari ut Deum instituit.
Suet. in Vitellio. Sect. 2.

(2) Bocharti

sistency and propriety in interpreting *the coming of Christ* in ver. 1 of the destruction of Jerusalem, and in ver. 8 of the destruction of Simon Magus, tho' Simon Magus was not destroyed, but was only thrown out of his chariot, and his leg broken in the fall? These are some of the absurdities in Grotius's interpretation and application of this prophecy, which you may see more largely exposed and refuted by (2) Bochart among the foreign, and by Dr. Henry More among our English writers.

2. Dr. Hammond is every where full of Simon Magus and the Gnostics, so that it is the less to be wondered that he should introduce them upon this occasion, and apply this whole prophecy to them, wherein he is more consistent than Grotius, who applies part to Simon Magus, and part to Caligula. *The apostasy*, (3) according to him, was a great departure or defection from the faith to the heresy of the Gnostics. *The man of sin* and *the wicked one* was Simon Magus, that wicked impostor, together with his followers the Gnostics. What hindered their showing themselves and making open profession of their hostility against the orthodox Christians, was the apostles not having yet given over preaching to the

(2) Bocharti Examen Libelli de Antichristo. Op. Tom. 2. Col. 1044—1051. More's Mysteri of Iniquity. Part 2. Book 2. Chap. 20.

(3) See

the Jews, and turned to the Gentiles. This same magician opposed himself against Christ, setting himself up for the chief or first God, superior to all other Gods; and accordingly was publicly worshipped by the Samaritans and others, and had a statue erected to him at Rome by the emperor Claudius. Him Christ destroyed in an extraordinary manner by the preaching and miracles of St. Peter; and all the apostatizing Gnostics who adhered to him, were involved in the destruction of the unbelieving Jews, with whom they had joined against the Christians. But the principal objection to this exposition is the same as to that of Grotius, that the apostle is here made to foretel things after the events. Simon Magus was already revealed, (Acts VIII. 9, 10.) *and had bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that himself was some great one: To whom they all gave heed from the least to the greatest, saying, This man is the great power of God.* Dr. Hammond himself contends, that Simon came to Rome and was there honored as God, at the beginning of the reign of Claudius; but this Epistle was written in the latter part of the same reign, and even the Doctor in (4)

another

(3) See Hammond's Paraphrase and Annotations.

(4) See his Pref. to the 1st Epist. to the Thessalonians.

(5) Clericus

another place confesseth it. The apostles too had already turned from the Jews to the Gentiles. Paul and Barnabas had declared to the Jews at Antioch in Pisidia, (Acts XIII. 46.) *It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you; but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles:* but this transaction was before this Epistle was written, and indeed before ever Paul went to Thessalonica. As part of the facts here predicted as future were already past, so the other part are manifestly false, or of uncertain credit at best. The statue erected to Simon Magus at Rome, and his public defeat there by the preaching and miracles of St. Peter in the presence of the emperor, are no better than fables. Even papists doubt the truth of these things, and well may others deny it. Simon Magus might perhaps have many followers; but it doth not appear that many of the Christians apostatized to him. Simon Magus might perhaps be worshipped by the Samaritans; but it doth not appear that he was ever worshipped in the temple of God at Jerusalem, or in any house of God belonging to the Christians. He died by all accounts some years before the destruction of Jerusalem; and it doth not appear that any of the Gnostics were involved

in

in the destruction of the unbelieving Jews. They were so far from being *all* involved in the same destruction as Dr. Hammond asserts, that that sect flourished most after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the second century after Christ is sometimes distinguished by the title of *Seculum Gnosticum* or the age of the Gnostics. Besides when it is said *Whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming*, it is evident that the same person who was to be consumed with the spirit of his mouth, was also to be destroyed with the brightness of his coming: but according to this exposition, Simon Magus was consumed by the spirit of his mouth, that is by the prayer and preaching of St. Peter; and the unbelieving Jews and Gnostics were destroyed together by the brightness of his coming, that is by the destruction of Jerusalem. They who desire to see a farther refutation of this exposition, may find it in (5) Le Clerc among the foreign, and in Whitby among our English commentators.

3. Le Clerc, whose comment on the New Testament is a translation and supplement of Hammond's, hath not demolished his hypothesis

(5) Clericus in locum. Whitby's Pref. to the 2d Epist. to the Thessalonians.

(6) Nihil

thesis without erecting (6) another of his own, which he esteems much more probable than the conjecture both of Grotius and Hammond. He supposeth that *the apostasy* was the great revolt of the Jews from the Romans. *The man of sin* was the rebellious Jews, and especially their famous leader Simon, not Magus, but the son of Gioras. They trampled upon all authority divine and human. They seized and profaned the temple of God. *What hindered* was what restrained the Jews from breaking into open rebellion, which was partly the reverence of the Jewish magistrates, and partly the fear of the Roman armies. *The mystery of iniquity* was the spirit of rebellion then working under the mask of liberty. The seditious Jews were also *the wicked one*; and they had among them false prophets and impostors, who pretended to show great *signs and wonders*. But to this hypothesis it may be replied, that *the apostasy* is plainly a defection from the true religion, and
it

(6) Nihil vetat in medium suspicionem proferre, quæ haud paulo verisimilior videtur, et Grotiana et Hammondiana conjectura. Αποστασία ergo suspicor Paulum vocare *defectionem* illam magnam Judæorum, qua imperii Romani jugum excutere frustra conati sunt.—sequitur *hominem peccati* esse rebelles

Judæos, et præsertim eximium eorum ducem Simonem, non Magum, sed Gioræ filium.—Seditiosi Judæi auctoritatem omnem legitimam, cum exterorum, tum popularium, tantum abesse ut coluerint, ut contra sese eâ superiores existimarint—Scele-rati illi Zelotæ et Idumæi, qui templum Jerolymitanum inva-ferant

it is used in no other sense by the apostle. It was not likely that he should entertain his new Gentile converts with discourses about the Jewish state and government, wherewith they had little concern or connexion. It was also scarce worthy of the spirit of prophecy to say, that the destruction of Jerusalem should not happen, unless there was first a rebellion of the Jews. No good reason is assigned, why Simon the son of Gioras should be reputed *the man of sin*, rather than the other factious leaders, John and Eleazar. No proof is alleged, that he was ever worshipped *in the temple of God as God*. He was not *exalted above every God or emperor*; for he was vanquished and made the emperor's prisoner. His coming was not *with all signs and lying wonders*; for he never pretended to any such power. He was not destroyed in the destruction of Jerusalem; but was preserved alive, and (7) was afterwards led in triumph at Rome, and then was dragged thro' the streets with a rope

ferant &c.—Τὸ κατεχόν ἐστὶν quod coercebat Judæos, ne in apertam rebellionem erumperent; hoc est, partim reverentia procerum Judææ gentis,—partim metus exercituum Romanorum, &c. Μυστήριον αἰνίας, quod fieri incipiebat hoc tempore, erat in eo situm, ut specie libertatis &c.—Verè quidem noster ἀνταρ

vocari animadvertit scelestos homines, qui antea designati fuerunt voce ὁ ἀντισυμβασις; sed intelligendi seditiosi Judæi, &c. —Fuere et alii impostores, quorum non uno loco meminit Josephus &c. Cleric. in locum.

(7) Josephus de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 5. Sect. 6. Edit. Hudson.

(8) παρρησία

rope about his neck, and was severely scourged, and at last put to death in the common prison. Besides it is not very consistent in this learned critic, by *the coming of Christ* in ver. 8 to understand the destruction of Jerusalem, and in his note upon ver. 1 to say that (8) *the coming of Christ* both in the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, and in this is the coming of Christ to judge the quick and dead.

4. Dr. Whitby's (9) scheme is somewhat perplexed and confused, as if he was not satisfied himself with his own explication. "*The apostasy* is the revolt of the Jews from the Roman empire, or from the faith," If the former, it is the same mistaken notion as Le Clerc's. If the latter, it is true that many were to apostatize from the faith, before the destruction of Jerusalem, according to the prediction of our Saviour: but it doth not appear that their number was so very great, as to deserve to be called by way of eminence and distinction *the apostasy*. "*The man of sin* is the Jewish nation with their high-priest and sanhedrim." But the Jewish nation with their high-priest and sanhedrim could not be said *to apostatize* from the faith which they never received: and those
Christian

(8) *παρουσία* Christi et in 1 hac est adventus Christi, ad judican-
Ep. ad Thessalonicenses, et in

Christian Jews, who did apostatize, were never united under any one head or leader, famous or infamous enough to merit the title of *the man of sin*. The Jewish nation too with their high-priest and sanhedrim were already revealed; and most of the instances which this author allegeth, of their opposing the Christian religion, and exalting themselves above all laws divine and human, were prior to the date of this Epistle. He was himself aware of this objection, and endeavors to prevent it by saying, “that these are the “ descriptions of *the man of sin*, by which the “ Thessalonians might then know him, and “ they run all in the present tense, showing “ what he already did.” But it is the known and usual stile of prophecy to speak of things future as present, intimating that tho’ future they are as sure and certain as if they were even now present. “ *He who now letteth* is the “ Roman emperor Claudius, and he *will lett* “ *until he be taken out of the way*, that is, he “ will hinder the Jews from breaking out into “ an open rebellion in his time, they being so “ signally and particularly obliged by him.” But how utterly improbable is it, that the apostle should talk and write of Jewish politics

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dicandum de vivis & mortuis.

Cleric. ibid.

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(9) See Whitby's Paraphrase and Commentary.

C c

(1) Intelligo

to Gentile converts? If Claudius withheld the Jews from revolting from the Roman government, did he withhold them also from apostatizing from the Christian faith? or what was it that withheld them? and what then becomes of that interpretation? “When Claudius shall
 “be taken out of the way, as he was by poison,
 “then they *shall be revealed*, either by actual
 “apostasy from the Roman government, or
 “by the great apostasy of the believers of that
 “nation.” But the apostasy of believers was not near so *great* nor universal as the apostasy from the Roman government. Here too is the same ambiguity and uncertainty as before. The prophecy plainly intends one sort of apostasy, and this learned commentator proposeth two, and inclines sometimes to the one, and sometimes to the other, as may best suit his hypothesis. He is guilty too of the same inconsistency as Le Clerc, in interpreting *the coming of Christ* in the former Epistle, and in this Epistle, and in the first verse of this very chapter, of his coming to judge the world; and yet in verse the eighth, of his coming to destroy Jerusalem. But if the destruction of Jerusalem only was meant, what need had the Thessalonians to
 be

(1) Intelligo Titum sive domum Flaviam — *αρχισυνταγματάρχης* Εο tempore Vespasianus consulatum jam gesserat, triumphalia

be under such consternation, to be *shaken in mind* and to be *troubled*, that *the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost*, (as the apostle saith, 1 Thes. II. 15, 16.) *who both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and have persecuted us; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men, forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles, that they might be saved.* It was matter of consolation, rather than of trouble or terror to the Theffalonians; and as such the apostle mentions it in his former Epistle.

5. But of all the applications of this prophecy none is more extraordinary than that of the late professor Wetstein, the learned and laborious editor of the New Testament with the various readings and copious annotations. “By *the man of sin and the wicked one* he (1) understands Titus or the Flavian family. *The mystery of iniquity* was then *working*, because at that time Vespasian had borne the office of consul, had received the honors of a triumph, and even under Caligula had entertained some hopes of the empire. *He who letteth* was Nero, who was now adopted by the emperor.” One is really ashamed and grieved to see a scholar and critic fall into such absurdities. What! was

Titus

phalia acceperat, et jam sub ὁ καταχρησ, Nero jam adoptatus
Caio in spem imperii venerat. — erat &c. Wetstenius in locum.

C c z

(2) — cui

Titus then, as well as the emperor Julian, an *apostate*? Was he, who was one of the best emperors, *the love and delight of mankind*, to be branded with the odious appellations of *the man of sin* and *the wicked one*? Even Domitian was not worse than several other emperors both before and after him. How did Titus and the Flavian family *oppose and exalt themselves above every God or emperor*? How did they *as God sit in the temple of God, showing themselves that they were Gods*? Why was Vespasian's hoping for the empire *the mystery of iniquity*, more than Galba's, or Otho's, or Vitellius's hoping for the same? When Nero was *taken out of the way*, were not these three emperors, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, all *revealed* before the Flavian Family? How was *the coming* of Titus and the Flavian family *with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness*? How were their adherents and followers such eminently as *received not the love of the truth that they might be saved, but believed a lie that they might be damned, and had pleasure in unrighteousness*? How were Titus and the Flavian family destroyed in the destruction of Jerusalem, when they were themselves the destroyers of

(2)—cui si, uti spero, vel vel conatum saltem meum non
interpretationem Apocalypseo, displicuisse intellexero, *sublimi*
se-

of it, and reigned several years afterwards? Was there an illustrious coming of Christ, when Titus or any of the Flavian family died? Or how can the Lord be said to *consume them with the spirit of his mouth, and to destroy them with the brightness of his coming*? It surpasseth all comprehension, how this learned professor could think of such an application, without asking himself some such questions; or how he could ask himself any such questions, without clearly perceiving the impossibility of answering them. We cannot suppose that he would have made a compliment of his religion, but he hath certainly of his understanding, to Cardinal Quirini, in this instance as well as in his comment upon the Revelation, which, (2) as he humbly hopeth, will not displease his eminency, and then he shall be transcendently happy.

It is a farther objection to Wetstein, as also to Grotius, Hammond, Le Clerc, and Whitby, that they are so singular in their opinions; they differ as much from one another, as from the generality of interpreters; and as they dissent from all who went before them, so they are followed by none who come after them. If this prophecy was fulfilled, as these critics conceive,

feriam sidera vertice. Idem de Interpret. Apoc. Tom. 2. p. 894.

ceive, before the destruction of Jerusalem, it is surprising that none of the fathers should agree with any of them in the same application, and that the discovery should first be made sixteen or seventeen hundred years after the completion. The fathers might differ and be mistaken in the circumstances of a prophecy which was yet to be fulfilled; but that a prophecy should be remarkably accomplished before their time, and they be totally ignorant of it, and speak of the accomplishment as still future, is not very credible, and will always be a strong presumptive argument against any such interpretation. The foundation of all the mistakes of these learned men is their interpreting *the coming of Christ*, of the destruction of Jerusalem; whereas the context, as it hath been shown, plainly evinces that it is to be understood of his coming to judge the world. They therefore bid fairer for the true interpretation, who apply this prophecy to events after the destruction of Jerusalem.

6. Of those who apply this prophecy to events after the destruction of Jerusalem, some papists, and some persons who think like papists, contend that the character of *the man of sin* was drawn for the great impostor Mohammed: and it must be confessed, that the portrait resembles him in many respects. He was indeed a *man of sin*

sin both in life and in doctrine. He might be said to *sit in the temple of God*, when he converted the churches into mosques. He likewise rose upon the ruins of the Roman empire; and the Roman empire is generally thought to be *what withholdeth*. But though some features are alike, yet others are very much unlike, and demonstrate a manifest difference. He was not properly an *apostate*, for he and his countrymen the Arabians were not Christians but Heathens, tho' he made many Christians afterwards apostatize from the faith. *The apostasy* was to precede and introduce *the man of sin*, but this man of sin was the first author of this apostasy. And what is the most material, he never pretended to confirm his mission, or authorize his doctrine by miracles. *His coming was not with all power, and signs, and lying wonders*: On the contrary he (3) declared, that " God had sent Moses and " Jesus with miracles, and yet men would " not be obedient to their word; and therefore " he had now sent him in the last place without miracles, to force them by the power of " the sword to do his will." Some of his followers have ascribed miracles to him: but as Dr. Prideaux observes, " those who relate them, " are only such who are reckoned among their
fabulous

(3) See Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 26 and 28. 8th Edit. 1723.

“fabulous and legendary writers. Their
 “learned doctors renounce them all, as doth
 “Mohammed himself, who in several places in
 “his Koran owns that he wrought no miracles.”

7. Others of the papists affirm, that *the apostasy* is the falling away from the church of Rome by the doctrins of the reformation. But who then is *the man of sin*, Luther and his followers, or Calvin and his followers, or who? for the protestants are far from being united under any one head. Which of the protestant churches exalts herself above every God and magistrate? Which of them arrogates to herself divine honors and titles? Which of them pretends to establish her doctrine and discipline by miracles? These things would be ridiculously and absurdly objected to the protestant churches, and more ridiculously and absurdly still by the members of the church of Rome.

8. The greater part of the Romish doctors, it must be confessed, give another interpretation, and acknowledge that (4) the fathers and the best interpreters understand this unanimously of Antichrist, who will appear in the world before the great day of judgment to combat religion and the saints. But then they conceive that Antichrist is not yet revealed, that he is only one

man,

(4) Les Peres, et les meilleurs interpretes entendent unanimement de l'Ante-Christ, qui doit paroitre dans le monde avant

man, and that he will continue only three years and a half. But we have shown before, that *the man of sin* is not a single man, any more than *the whore of Babylon* is a single woman. The one as well as the other is to be understood of a whole order and succession of persons. *The mystery of iniquity* was working, and preparing the way for *the man of sin* even in the apostles days: and is it not very extraordinary, that 1700 years should elapse, and that he should not be yet revealed? *What withholdeth*, they say, was the Roman empire; and the Roman empire might be powerful enough to hinder his appearance at that time, but how hath it withheld and hindered all this while? As this evil began in the apostles days, and was to continue in the world till the second coming of Christ in power and great glory; it necessarily follows that it was to be carried on not by one man, but by a succession of men in several ages. It cannot be taking root and growing imperceptibly 1700 years and more, and yet flourish under its chief head only three years and a half. There needeth not surely so much preparation for so little effect. Neither are three years and a half a period sufficient for Anti-christ

avant le grand jour du jugement, pour combattre la religion & les saints. Calmet Comment & Dissertation sur l'Ante-Christ.
(5) See

christ to act the parts and to fulfil the characters which are assigned him; unless he hath also this property of divinity, that *one day is with him as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.*

III. The detection of falsehood is the next step towards the discovery of truth: and having seen how this passage hath been mistaken and misapplied by some famous commentators, we may be the better enabled to vindicate and establish what we conceive to be the only true and legitimate application. The Thessalonians, from some expressions in the former Epistle, were alarmed as if the end of the world was at hand, and Christ was coming to judgment. The apostle, to correct their mistakes and dissipate their fears, assures them, that the coming of Christ will not be yet awhile; there will be first a great apostasy or defection of Christians from the true faith and worship. This apostasy all the concurrent marks and characters will justify us in charging upon the church of Rome. The apostle mentions this apostasy in another place, (1 Tim. IV. 1, &c.) and specifies some articles, as *doctrins of demons, forbidding to marry,*
and

(5) See Stillingfleet's Discourse concerning the Idolatry of the church

and commanding to abstain from meats, which will warrant the same conclusion. The true Christian worship is the worship of the one only God thro' the one only mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus: and from this worship the church of Rome hath notoriously departed by substituting other mediators, and invoking and adoring saints and angels. Nothing is a apostasy, if idolatry be not; and the same kind of idolatry is practised in the church of Rome, that the prophets and inspired writers arraign and condemn as apostasy and rebellion in the Jewish church. The Jews never totally rejected the true God, but only worshipped him thro' the medium of some image, or in conjunction with some other beings: and are not the members of the church of Rome (5) guilty of the same idolatry and apostasy in the worship of images, in the adoration of the host, in the invocation of angels and saints, and in the oblation of prayers and praises to the virgin Mary, as much or more than to God blessed for ever? This is the grand corruption of the Christian church, this is the apostasy as it is emphatically called, and deserves to be called, the
apostasy

church of Rome, Chap. 1 and 2. Vol. 5. of his works.

(6) As

apostasy that the apostle had warned the Thessalonians of before, *the apostasy* that had also been foretold by the prophet Daniel.

If the apostasy be rightly charged upon the church of Rome, it follows of consequence that *the man of sin* is the pope, not meaning this or that pope in particular, but the pope in general, as the chief head and supporter of this apostasy. The apostasy produces him, and he again promotes the apostasy. He is properly *the man of sin*, not only on account of the scandalous lives of many popes, but by reason of their more scandalous doctrines and principles, dispensing with the most necessary duties, and granting or rather selling pardons and indulgences to the most abominable crimes. Or if by *sin* be meant idolatry particularly as in the Old Testament, it is evident to all how he hath corrupted the worship of God, and perverted it from *spirit and truth* to superstition and idolatry of the grossest kind. He also, like the false apostle Judas, is *the son of perdition*, whether actively as being the cause and occasion of destruction to others, or passively as being destined and devoted to destruction himself. *He opposeth*; he is the great adversary to God and man,

(6) As Hildebrand or Gregory VII. did to Henry IV.

(7) As

man, excommunicating and anathematizing, persecuting and destroying by croisadoes and inquisitions, by massacres and horrid executions, those sincere Christians, who prefer the word of God to all the authority of men. The Heathen emperor of Rome may have slain his thousands of innocent Christians, but the Christian bishop of Rome hath slain his ten thousands. There is scarce any country, that hath not at one time or other been made the stage of these bloody tragedies: scarce any age, that hath not in one place or other seen them acted. *He exalteth himself above all that is called God or that is worshipped*; not only above inferior magistrates, but likewise above bishops and primates, exerting an absolute jurisdiction and uncontrolled supremacy over all; nor only above bishops and primates, but likewise above kings and emperors, deposing some, and advancing others, obliging them to prostrate themselves before him, to kiss his toe, to hold his stirrup, to (6) wait bare-footed at his gate, treading (7) even upon the neck, and (8) kicking off the imperial crown with his foot; nor only above kings and emperors, but likewise above Christ and God himself, *making the word of God*

(7) As Alexander III. did to Frederic I.

(8) As Celestin did to Henry VI.

(9) Dominas

God of none effect by his traditions, forbidding what God hath commanded, as marriage, communion in both kinds, the use of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue, and the like, and also commanding or allowing what God hath forbidden, as idolatry, persecution, works of supererogation, and various other instances. So that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God. He is therefore in profession a Christian, and a Christian bishop. His *sitting in the temple of God* plainly implies his having his seat or cathedra in the christian church: and he sitteth there *as God*, especially at his inauguration, when he sitteth upon the high altar in St. Peter's church, and maketh the table of the Lord his footstool, and in that position receiveth adoration. At all times he exerciseth divine authority in the church, *showing himself that he is God*, affecting divine titles and attributes as holiness and infallibility, assuming divine powers and prerogatives in condemning and absolving men, in retaining and forgiving sins, in asserting his decrees to be of the same or greater authority than the word of God, and com-

(9) Dominus Deus noster papa. Alter Deus in terra. Rex regum, dominus dominorum. Idem est dominium Dei et papæ. Credere Dominum Deum nos-

trum papam non potuisse statuere, prout statuit, hæreticum censeretur. Papæ potestas est major omni potestate creata, extenditque se ad cœlestia, terrestria,

commanding them to be received under the penalty of the same or greater damnation. Like another Salmoneus he is proud to imitate the state and thunder of the Almighty ; and is stiled, and pleased to be (9) stiled, ‘ Our Lord ‘ God the pope ; another God upon earth ; ‘ king of kings, and lord of lords. The same ‘ is the dominion of God and the pope. To ‘ believe that our Lord God the pope might not ‘ decree, as he decreed, it were a matter of ‘ heresy. The power of the pope is greater ‘ than all created power, and extends itself to ‘ things celestial, terrestrial, and infernal. The ‘ pope doeth whatsoever he listeth, even things ‘ unlawful, and is more than God.’ Such blasphemies are not only allowed, but are even approved, encouraged, rewarded in the writers of the church of Rome ; and they are not only the extravagances of private writers, but are the language even of public decretals and acts of councils. So that the pope is evidently the God upon earth : at least there is no one like him, who *exalteth himself above every God* ; no one like him, who *sitteth as God* in

tria, et infernaliam. Papa facit quicquid libet, etiam illicita, et est plus quam Deus. See these and the like instances quoted in Bishop Jewel’s Apology and De-

fense, in Downham’s treatise de Antichristo, and Poole’s English Annotations. See likewise Barrow’s treatise of the Pope’s Supremacy in the Introduction.

(1) Ma-

in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God.

But if the bishop of Rome be *the man of sin*, it may seem somewhat strange that the apostle should mention these things in an epistle to the Thessalonians, and not rather in his Epistle to the Romans. But this Epistle was written four or five years before that to the Romans, and there was no occasion to mention the same things again in another epistle. What was written to the Thessalonians or any particular church, was in effect written to all the churches, the epistles being designed for general edification, and intended to be read publicly in the congregations of the faithful. When St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans, he had not been at Rome, and consequently could not allude to any former discourse with them, as with the Thessalonians: and these things were not proper to be fully explained in a letter, and especially in a letter addressed to the Christian converts at the capital city of the empire. The apostles with all their prudence were represented as enemies to government, and were charged with *turning the world upside down*; (Acts XVII. 6.) but the accusation would have been sounded higher, if St. Paul had denounced openly, and to Romans too, the destruction of the Roman empire.

However

However he admonisheth them to beware of apostasy, (Rom. XI. 20, 22.) and to *continue in God's goodness, or otherwise they should be cut off*: and afterwards when he visited Rome, and dwelt there *two whole years*, (Acts XXVIII. 30.) he might have frequent opportunities of informing them particularly of these things. It is not to be supposed, that he discoursed of these things only to the Thessalonians. It was a matter of concern to all Christians to be forewarned of the great corruption of Christianity, that they might be neither surprised into it, nor offended at it; and the caution was the more necessary, as *the mystery of iniquity was already working*. The seeds of popery were sown in the apostle's time; for even then *idolatry* was stealing into the church, (1 Cor. X. 14.) and *a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels*, (Col. II. 18.) *strife and divisions*, (1 Cor. III. 3.) *an adulterating and handling of the word of God deceitfully*, (2 Cor. II. 17. IV. 2.) *a gain of godliness, and teaching of things for filthy lucre's sake*, (1 Tim. VI. 5. Tit. I. 11.) *a vain observation of festivals*, (Gal. IV. 10.) *a vain distinction of meats*, (1 Cor. VIII. 8.) *a neglecting of the body*, (Col. II. 23.) *traditions, and commandments, and doctrines of men*, (Col. II. 8, 22.) with other corruptions and innovations. All heretics were in a

manner the forerunners of *the man of sin*; and Simon Magus in particular was so lively a type and figure of *the wicked one*, that he hath been mistaken, as we see, for *the wicked one* himself.

The foundations of popery were laid indeed in the apostle's days, but the superstructure was raised by degrees, and several ages passed before the building was completed, and *the man of sin* was *revealed* in full perfection. St. Paul having communicated to the Thessalonians what it was that hindered his appearance, it was natural for other Christians also who read this Epistle, to inquire *what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time*; and the apostle without doubt would impart it to other Christians as freely as to the Thessalonians; and the Thessalonians and other Christians might deliver it to their successors, and so the tradition might generally prevail, and the tradition that generally prevailed was that what hindered was the Roman empire: and therefore the primitive Christians in the public offices of the church prayed for its peace and welfare, as knowing that when the Roman empire should be dissolved and broken into pieces, the empire of *the man of sin* would be raised on its ruins. How this revolution was effected, no writer can better inform us than Machiavel.

(1) Machiavel. "The emperor of Rome quitting Rome to hold his residence at Constantinople, the Roman empire began to decline, but the church of Rome augmented as fast. Nevertheless, until the coming in of the Lombards, all Italy being under the dominion either of emperors or kings, the bishops assumed no more power than what was due to their doctrine and manners; in civil affairs, they were subject to the civil power.—But Theodoric king of the Goths fixing his seat at Ravenna, was that which advanced their interest, and made them more considerable in Italy; for there being no other prince left in Rome, the Romans were forced for protection to pay greater allegiance to the pope. And yet their authority advanced no farther at that time, than to obtain the preference before the church of Ravenna. But the Lombards having invaded, and reduced Italy into several cantons, the pope took the opportunity, and began to hold up his head. For being as it were governor and principal at Rome, the emperor of Constantinople and the Lombards bare him a respect, so that the Romans (by mediation of their pope) began
" to

(1) Machiavel's Hist. of Florence Book 1. p. 6, &c. of the English translation.

“ to treat and confederate with Longinus [the
 “ emperor’s lieutenant] and the Lombards, not as
 “ subjects, but as equals and companions; which
 “ said custom continuing, and the popes entering
 “ into alliance sometimes with the Lombards,
 “ and sometimes with the Greeks, contracted
 “ great reputation to their dignity. But the
 “ destruction of the eastern empire following so
 “ close under the reign of the emperor Hera-
 “ cleus,—the pope lost the convenience of the
 “ emperor’s protection in time of adversity, and
 “ the power of the Lombards increasing too fast
 “ on the other side, he thought it but necessary
 “ to address himself to the king of France for
 “ assistance.—Gregory the third being created
 “ pope, and Aistolfus king of the Lombards,
 “ Aistolfus contrary to league and agreement
 “ seized upon Ravenna, and made war upon the
 “ pope. Gregory not daring (for the reasons
 “ above said) to depend upon the weakness of
 “ the empire, or the fidelity of the Lombards,
 “ (whom he had already found false) applied
 “ himself to Pepin—for relief against the Lom-
 “ bards. Pepin returned answer, that he would
 “ be ready to assist him, but he desired first to
 “ have the honor to see him, and pay his per-
 “ sonal respects. Upon which invitation pope
 “ Gregory went into France, passing thorough

“ the Lombards quarters without any interrup-
“ tion, so great reverence they bare to religion
“ in those days. Being arrived and honorably
“ received in France, he was after some time
“ dismissed with an army into Italy; which
“ having besieged Pavia, and reduced the Lom-
“ bards to distress, Aistolfus was constrained to
“ certain terms of agreement with the French,
“ which were obtained by the intercession of
“ the pope:—Among the rest of the articles of
“ that treaty it was agreed, that Aistolfus should
“ restore all the lands he had usurped from the
“ church. But when the French army was
“ returned into France, Aistolfus forgot his en-
“ gagement, which put the pope upon a second
“ application to king Pepin, who supplied him
“ again, sent a new army into Italy, overcame
“ the Lombards, and possessed himself of Ra-
“ venna, and (contrary to the desire of the
“ Grecian emperor) gave it to the pope, with
“ all the lands under that exarchate.—In the
“ interim Aistolfus died, and Desiderio a Lom-
“ bard, and duke of Tuscany, taking up arms
“ to succeed him, begged assistance of the pope,
“ with promise of perpetual amity for the future.
“ —At first Desiderio was very punctual,—de-
“ livering up the towns as he took them to the
“ pope, according to his engagement to king

“ Pepin ; nor was there any exarch sent after-
 “ wards from Constantinople to Ravenna, but
 “ all was arbitrary, and managed according to
 “ the pleasure of the pope. Not long after
 “ Pepin died, and Charles his son succeeded in
 “ the government, who was called the great
 “ from the greatness of his exploits. About the
 “ same time Theodore the first was advanced
 “ to the papacy, and falling out with Desiderio
 “ was besieged by him in Rome. In his exi-
 “ gence the pope had recourse to the king of
 “ France, (as his predecessor had done before
 “ him) and Charles not only supplied him with
 “ an army, but marching over the Alps at the
 “ head of it himself, he besieged Desiderio in
 “ Pavia, took him and his son in it, sent them
 “ both prisoners into France, and went in per-
 “ son to Rome to visit the pope, where he ad-
 “ judged and determined, *that his Holiness being*
 “ *God’s vicar, could not be subject to the judgment*
 “ *of man.* For which the pope and people
 “ together declared him emperor, and Rome
 “ began again to have an emperor of the west :
 “ and whereas formerly the popes were con-
 “ firmed by the emperors, the emperor now in
 “ his election was to be beholding to the pope ;
 “ by

(2) See Bishop Jewel’s Apology and Defense, p. 313, 314, 430, &c.

(3) Undecima

“ by which means the power and dignity of
“ the empire declined, and the church began
“ to advance, and by these steps to usurp upon
“ the authority of temporal princes.”

In this manner the emperor of Rome, or *he who letteth*, was taken out of the way, and the bishop of Rome was advanced in his stead. In the same proportion as the power of the empire decreased, the authority of the church increased, the latter at the expense and ruin of the former; till at length the pope grew up above all, and *ὁ ἀνομος* the wicked one was fully manifested and revealed, or the lawless one as he may be called; for the pope (2) is declared again and again not to be bound by any law of God or man. *His coming is after the energy of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness:* and doth it require any particular proof, or is it not too generally known, that the pretensions of the pope, and the corruptions of the church of Rome are all supported and authorized by feigned visions and miracles, by pious frauds and impostures of every kind? Bellarmin reckons (3) the glory of miracles as the eleventh note of the catholic church: but the apostle assigns them as a distinguishing

(3) Undecima nota est gloria miraculorum. Bellar. de Notis ecclesiæ. Lib. 4. Cap. 14.

guishing mark and character of *the man of sin*. The church of Rome pretends to miracles, Mohammed disclaims them; and this is one very good reason, why *the man of sin* is the Pope rather than the Turk. There hath been printed at London, so lately as in the year 1756, a book intitled *The miraculous powers of the church of Christ asserted through each successive century from the apostles down to the present time*: and from thence the author draweth the conclusion, that the catholic church is the true church of Christ. They must certainly *not receive the love of the truth, but have pleasure in unrighteousness*, who can believe such fabulous and ridiculous legends, who hold it a mortal sin but to doubt of any article of their religion, who deny the free exercise of private judgment, who take away the free use of the holy scriptures, and so *shut up the kingdom of heaven against men, neither going in themselves, neither suffering them, who were entreing, to go in*. If they will still maintain their miracles to be true, yet they are no proof of the true church, but rather of the contrary. They are the miracles here predicted, and if they were really wrought, were wrought in favor of falsehood: and indeed it is a proper retaliation, that God in his just judgments *should send men strong delusion that they should believe a lie*,

lie, who received not the love of the truth that they might be saved; a proper retaliation, that he should suffer some real miracles to be wrought to deceive those, who have counterfeited so many miracles to deceive others.

But how much soever *the man of sin* may be exalted, and how long soever he may reign, yet at last *the Lord shall consume him with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming.* This is partly taken from the prophet Isaiah, (XI. 4.) *and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked one:* where the Jews, as Lightfoot (4) observes, “ put an emphasis upon that word in the prophet *the wicked one*, as it appeareth by the Chaldee paraphrast, who hath uttered it *He shall destroy the wicked Roman.*” If the two clauses, as it was said before, relate to two different events, the meaning manifestly is, that the Lord Jesus shall gradually consume him with the free preaching of his gospel, and shall utterly destroy him at his second coming in the glory of his Father. The former began to take effect at the Reformation, and the latter will be accomplished in God’s appointed time. *The man of sin* is now upon the decline, and he will be totally abolished, when Christ shall come in judgment. The
kingdom

(4) Lightfoot’s Works. Vol. 1. p. 296.

(5) A.D. 1711

kingdom of falsehood and sin shall end, and the reign of truth and virtue shall succeed. *Great is the truth, and will at last prevail.*

The man of sin then is the same arbitrary and wicked power that is described by Daniel under the characters of *the little horn* and *the mighty king*. In St. Paul he is *revealed*, when the Roman empire is *taken out of the way*; and in Daniel the Roman empire is first broken into several kingdoms, and he *cometh up among them*. In St. Paul he *opposeth*; and in Daniel he *doeth according to his will*, and *weareth out the saints of the most High*. In St. Paul he *exalteth himself above all that is called God or that is worshipped*, showing himself that he is God: and in Daniel he *exalteth himself and magnifieth himself above every God*, and *speaketh marvelous things against the God of Gods*. In St. Paul he is *the lawless one*; and in Daniel he *changeth times and laws*. In St. Paul his coming is with all *deceivableness of unrighteousness*; and in Daniel he *practiseth and prospereth*, and through his policy causeth craft to prosper in his land. According to St. Paul the Lord shall consume him with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming; and according to Daniel a fiery stream shall issue and come forth from the judge, and

(5) *ANTI* signifies *pro*, *vice*, *loco*, as well as *contra*, *e regione*,
his
ex

his body shall be given to the burning flame, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume, and to destroy it unto the end. The characters and circumstances are so much the same, that they must belong to one and the same person.

The tyrannical power thus described by Daniel and St. Paul, and afterwards by St. John, is both by ancients and moderns generally denominated *Antichrist*: and the name is proper and expressive enough, as it may signify (5) both *the enemy of Christ*, and *the vicar of Christ*: and no one is more the enemy of Christ than he who arrogates his name and power, as no one more directly opposes the king than he who assumes his title and authority. The name began to prevail in St. John's time. For he addresseth himself to the Christians as having heard of the coming of Antichrist, and calleth the heretics of his time by the same common name: (1 Ep. II. 18, 22.) *As ye have heard that the Antichrist shall come, even now are there many Antichrists: Who is a liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? he is the Antichrist that denieth the Father and the Son.* As St. Paul hath said, *The mystery of iniquity doth already work:* so St. John speaketh of the spirit of Antichrist as then in the world; (IV. 3.) *This is that spirit*

ex adverso; and ἀντὶστασις is prorex, ἀντιπαῖς; proconsul.

(C) Dial.

of *Antichrist*, whereof you have heard that it should come, and even now already is it in the world. Afterwards (2 Ep. 7, 8.) he stileth him emphatically *the deceiver and the Antichrist*, and warneth the Christians to look to themselves. The fathers too speak of *Antichrist* and of *the man of sin* as one and the same person; and give much the same interpretation that hath here been given of the whole passage: only it is not to be supposed, that they who wrote before the events, could be so very exact in the application of each particular, as those who have the advantage of writing after the events, and of comparing the prophecy and completion together.

Justin Martyr, who flourished before the middle of the second century, (6) considers *the man of sin*, or as he elsewhere calleth him *the man of blasphemy*, as altogether the same with *the little horn* in Daniel; and affirms that he, who shall speak blasphemous words against the most High is now at the doors. Irenæus, who lived in the same

(6) Dial. cum Tryph. p. 250. Edit. Paris. p. 201. Edit. Thirlbii. και τη βλασφημια και τολμηρα εις τον υψιστον μελλοντος λαλειν ηδη επι θυραις οντος. eoque qui impie et temerarie maledicta in Altissimum prolocuturus est, jam pro foribus assistente. Vide etiam

p. 336. Edit. Paris. p. 371. Edit. Thirlbii.

(7) Adversus Hæreses Lib. 5. Cap. 25. Antichristi fraus, superbia, et tyrannicum regnum, prout a Daniele et Paulo descripta sunt. p. 437. Edit. Grabe.

(8) Quis,

same century, hath written (7) a whole chapter of the fraud, and pride, and tyrannical reign of Antichrist, as they are described by Daniel and St. Paul in his second Epistle to the Thessalonians. Tertullian, who became famous at the latter end of the same century, expounding those words *only he who now letteth will lett, until he be taken out of the way*, (8) says ‘ Who can this be but the Roman state, the division of which into ten kingdoms will bring on Antichrist, and then the wicked one shall be revealed.’ And in his Apology he (9) assigns it as a particular reason why the Christians prayed for the Roman empire, because they knew that the greatest calamity hanging over the world was retarded by the continuance of it.

Origen, the most learned father and ablest writer of the third century, (1) recites this passage at large as spoken of him who is called Antichrist. To the same purpose he likewise alleges the words of Daniel as truly divine

(8) Quis, nisi Romanus status? cujus abscessio in decem reges dispersa Antichristum superducet, et tunc revelabitur iniquus. De Resurrect. Carnis. Cap. 24. p. 340. Edit. Rigaltii. Paris. 1675.

(9) Est et alia major neces-

sitas nobis orandi pro imperatoribus, etiam pro omni statu imperii, rebusque Romanis, qui vim maximam universo orbi imminentem — Romani imperii commeatu scimus retardari. Apol. Cap. 32. p. 27. Ibid.

(1) Contra Celsum Lib. 6. p. 608.

divine and prophetic. Daniel and St. Paul, according to him, both prophesied of the same person.

Lactantius, who flourished in the beginning of the fourth century, describes Antichrist in the same manner, and almost in the same terms as St. Paul; and (2) concludes ‘ This is he, who is ‘ called Antichrist, but shall feign himself to be ‘ Christ, and shall fight against the truth.’ A shorter and fuller character of the vicar of Christ could not be drawn even by a protestant. Cyril of Jerusalem in the same century alleges this passage of St. Paul together with other prophecies concerning Antichrist, and (3) says that ‘ This the predicted Antichrist will come, when ‘ the times of the Roman empire shall be fulfilled, and the consummation of the world ‘ shall

668. Opera Tom. 1. Edit. Benedict.

(2) Hic est autem, qui appellatur Antichristus; sed se ipse Christum mentietur, et contra verum dimicabit. Lactant. Lib. 7. Cap. 19.

(3) ἔρχεται δὲ ὁ προσηγμένος Ἀντιχρῆστος ὅτος, ἔταν πληρωθῶσιν οἱ καιροὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας, καὶ πλησιάσῃ λοιπὸν τὰ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συντελείας. δὲκα μὲν ὅμη Ῥωμαίων ἐγείρονται βασιλεῖς, ἐν διαφόροις μὲν ἰσῶς τοποῖς, κατὰ δὲ

τον αὐτον βασιλευσσι καιρον. μετα δὲ τῆς ἐνδεκατος ὁ Ἀντιχρῆστος, ἐκ τῆς μαγικῆς κακοτεχνίας τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀρπασας. Veniet autem hic prædictus Antichristus, cum impleta fuerint tempora imperii Romani, et mundi consummatio appropinquabit. Decem simul reges Romanorum excitabuntur, in diversis quidem locis, eodem tamen tempore regnantes. Post istos autem undecimus Antichristus, per magicum maleficium Romanorum potestatem rapiens. Catech. 15. Cap. 5. p. 214

‘ shall approach. Ten kings of the Romans
‘ shall arise together, in different places indeed,
‘ but they shall reign at the same time. Among
‘ these the eleventh is Antichrist, who by ma-
‘ gical and wicked artifice shall seize the Ro-
‘ man power.’ Ambrose archbishop of Milan
in the same century, or Hilary the deacon, or the
author (whoever he was) of the comment upon
St. Paul’s epistles, which passeth under the name
of St. Ambrose, proposes much the same inter-
pretation, and (4) affirms that after the failing
or decay of the Roman empire, Antichrist shall
appear.

Jerome, Austin, and Chrysostome flourished in
the latter end of the fourth, or the beginning
of the fifth century. St. Jerome in his expla-
nation of this passage (5) says, that Antichrist
shall

p. 211. Edit. Milles. Oxon.
1703.

(4) Post defectum regni Ro-
mani appariturum Antichristum
&c. Ambros. in locum.

(5) Et in templo Dei, vel Jero-
solyms (ut quidam putant) vel
in ecclesia (ut verius arbitra-
mur) federit, ostendens se tan-
quam ipse sit Christus et Filius
Dei: Nisi, inquit, fuerit Ro-
manum imperium ante desola-
tum, et Antichristus præcesse-
rit, Christus non veniet.--*Et nunc
quid detineat, scitis, ut reveletur*

in suo tempore; hoc est, quæ
causa sit, ut Antichristus in præ-
sentiarum non veniat, optime
nosse. Nec vult aperte dicere
Romanum imperium destruen-
dum, quod ipsi qui imperant,
æternum putant.--Si enim aper-
tè audacterque dixisset, non ve-
niet Antichristus, nisi prius Ro-
manum deleatur imperium, ius-
ta causa persecutionis in orien-
tem tunc ecclesiam consurgere
videbatur. Algasia Quest. 11.
Col. 209. Prior Pars. Tom. 4.
Edit. Benedict.

(6) Qui

' shall sit in the temple of God, either at Jeru-
 ' salem (as some imagin) or in the church (as
 ' we more truly judge) showing himself that
 ' he is Christ and the Son of God: and unless
 ' the Roman empire be first desolated, and
 ' Antichrist precede, Christ shall not come—
 ' *And now ye know what withholdeth that, be*
 ' *might be revealed in his time, that is, ye know*
 ' very well, what is the reason, why Antichrist
 ' doth not come at present. He is not willing
 ' to say openly, that the Roman empire should
 ' be destroyed, which they who command
 ' think to be eternal.—For if he had said openly
 ' and boldly, that Antichrist shall not come,
 ' unless the Roman empire be first destroyed,
 ' it might probably have proved the occasion of
 ' a persecution against the church.' Jerome
 was himself a witness to the barbarous nations
 beginning to tear in pieces the Roman empire,
 and upon this occasion he (6) exclaims ' He
 ' who

(6) Qui tenebat, de medio
 fit, et non intelligimus Anti-
 christum appropinquare, quem
 Dominus Jesus Christus inter-
 ficiet spiritu oris sui. Ad A-
 geruchiam de Monogamia Col.
 748. Secund. Pars. Tom. 4.

(7) Nulli dubium est, cum de
 Antichristo ista dixisse; diem-
 que judicii (hunc enim appellat

diem Domini) non esse ventu-
 rum, nisi ille prior venerit—
Et nunc quid detineat scitis—
 Quidam putant hoc de imperio
 dictum fuisse Romano; et prop-
 terea Paulum apostolum non id
 apertè scribere voluisse, ne ca-
 lumniam videlicet incurreret,
 quòd Romano imperio male
 optaverit, cum speraretur æter-
 num. De Civitat. Dei. Lib.

‘ who hindered is taken out of the way, and
 ‘ we do not consider that Antichrist approaches,
 ‘ whom the Lord Jesus shall consume with the
 ‘ spirit of his mouth.’ St. Austin having cited
 this passage (7) affirms, that ‘ No one ques-
 ‘ tions that the apostle spoke these things con-
 ‘ cerning Antichrist; and the day of judgment
 ‘ (for this he calleth the day of the Lord) should
 ‘ not come, unless Antichrist come first.—*And*
 ‘ *now ye know what withholdeth.*—Some think
 ‘ this was spoken of the Roman empire; and
 ‘ therefore the apostle was not willing to write
 ‘ it openly, lest he should incur a præmunire,
 ‘ and be falsely accused of wishing ill to the Ro-
 ‘ man empire, which was hoped to be eternal.’
 St. Chrysostome, in one of his homilies upon
 this passage, speaking of what hindered the re-
 velation of Antichrist, (8) asserts that ‘ when
 ‘ the Roman empire shall be taken out of the
 ‘ way, then he shall come: and it is very likely:
 ‘ for

20. Cap. 19. Col. 451. Tom. 7.
 Edit. Benedict. Antwerp.

(8) ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ Ῥωμαϊκὴ ὅταν ἀρθῇ
 ἐκ μισθῶν, τότε ἐκείνος ἔξει. καὶ ἐκκο-
 τῶς. ἵως γὰρ ἂν ὁ ταύτης ἡ τῆς
 ἀρχῆς φόβος, εἰς ταχὺς ὑποτα-
 γῇσιν. ὅταν δὲ αὐτὴ καταλυθῇ,
 ἐπιδησεται τῇ ἀναρχίᾳ, καὶ τῇ τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τῇ τῇ θεῷ ἐπιχει-
 ρήσει ἀρπάσαι ἀρχὴν. quando Ro-

VOL. II.

E e

manorum imperium de medio
 fuerit sublatum, tunc ille veniet.
 Et merito. Quamdiu enim fuerit
 metus hujus imperii, nemo cito
 subicietur. Quando autem hoc
 fuerit eversum, vacans invadet
 imperium hominumque et Dei
 imperium, aggredietur rapere.
 In locum p. 530. Tom. 11. Edit.
 Benedict.

(9) Ego

‘ for as long as the dread of this empire shall
 ‘ remain, no one shall quickly be substituted;
 ‘ but when this shall be dissolved, he shall
 ‘ seize on the vacant empire, and shall endeavor
 ‘ to assume the power both of God and men.’
 And who hath seized on the vacant empire in
 Rome, and assumed the power both of God and
 man, let the world judge.

In this manner these ancient and venerable
 fathers expound this passage; and in all proba-
 bility they had learned by tradition from the
 apostle, or from the church of the Thessalonians,
 that what retarded the revelation of Antichrist
 was the Roman empire, but when the Roman
 empire should be broken in pieces, and be no
 longer able to withhold him, then he should appear
 in the Christian church, and domineer princi-
 pally in the church of Rome. Even in the
 opinion of a bishop of Rome, Gregory the
 great, who sat in the chair at the end of the
 sixth century, whosoever affected the title of
 universal bishop, he was Antichrist, or the fore-
 runner of Antichrist. ‘ I speak it confidently,
 ‘ says (9) he, that whosoever calleth himself
 “ uni-

(9) Ego fidenter dico, quod
 quisquis se universalem sacer-
 dotem vocat, vel vocari desi-
 derat, in elatione sua Antichris-
 tum præcurrit. Lib. 6. Epist.

30. Ex hac ejus superbia quid
 aliud, nisi propinqua jam esse
 Antichristi tempora designatur.
 Lib. 4. Epist. 34. Rex superbiæ
 prope est; et, quod dici nefas
 est,

‘ universal bishop, or desireth so to be called,
‘ in the pride of his heart he doth forerun An-
‘ tichrist.’ When John, then bishop of Con-
stantinople, first usurped this title, Gregory made
answer, ‘ By this pride of his, what thing else
‘ is signified, but that the time of Antichrist
‘ is now at hand?’ Again he says upon the same
occasion, ‘ The king of pride (that is Antichrist)
‘ approacheth; and what is wicked to be spoken,
‘ an army of priests is prepared.’ When the papal
doctrins and the papal authority prevailed over all,
it was natural to think and expect, that the true
notion of Antichrist would be stifled, and that the
doctors of the church would endeavor to give
another turn and interpretation to this passage.
That night of ignorance was so thick and dark,
that there was hardly here and there a single
star to be seen in the hemisphere. But no
sooner was there any glimmering or dawning of
a reformation, than the true notion of Anti-
christ, which had been so long suppressed,
broke out again. As early as the year 1120 a
treatise was published concerning Antichrist,
wherein (1) the faithful are admonished,
that

est, sacerdotum est præparatus Supremacy, Suppos. 5. p. 123.
exercitus. Lib. 4. Ibid. See Edit. 1683.

Jewel's *Defense of the Apo-* (1) Anno Domini 1120—
logy. Part 4. Chap. 16. p. 413. *emissus est tractatus de Anti-*
Barrow's *Treatise of the Pope's* christo,—In hoc libro admo-

that ‘ the great Antichrist was long ago come,
 ‘ in vain was he still expected, he was now by the
 ‘ permission of God advanced in years:’ and
 the author, having described the corrupt state of
 the church at that time, says afterwards, ‘ This
 ‘ state of men (not a single man) is Antichrist,
 ‘ the whore of Babylon, the fourth beast of
 ‘ Daniel, (to wit in his last state as it is said)
 ‘ that man of sin and son of perdition, who is
 ‘ exalted above every God, so that he sitteth
 ‘ in the temple of God, that is, the church,
 ‘ showing himself that he is God ; who is now
 ‘ come with all kind of seduction and lies in
 ‘ those who perish.’ The Waldenses and Al-
 bigenses propagated the same opinions in the
 same century. That the pope was Antichrist
 was indeed the general doctrin of the first re-
 formers every where. Here in England it was
 (2) advanced by Wickliff, and was learnedly
 established by that great and able champion of
 the Reformation, Bishop Jewel, in his Apo-
 logy

nentur fideles “ Antichristum
 “ illum magnum jamdudum
 “ venisse, frustra adhuc ex-
 “ spectari, esse jam Dei per-
 “ missione ætate provectum :
 “ —Hunc hominum statum
 “ (non singularem hominem)
 “ esse Antichristum, meretri-
 “ cem Babylonicam, quartam

“ bestiam Danielis, (nempe in
 “ statuejus novissimo, ut dictum
 “ est) hominem illum peccati,
 “ et filium perditionis, qui
 “ extollitur super omnem Deum,
 “ ita ut in templo Dei, id est,
 “ ecclesia, sedeat, ostendens se
 “ tanquam sit Deus ; qui jam
 “ venit in omni genere seduc-
 “ tionis

logy and Defense, and more largely in his Exposition upon the two Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians. This doctrine contributed not a little to promote the Reformation; and where-soever the one prevailed, the other prevailed also.

Such doctrine as this must necessarily give great offense to the bigots and devotees of the church of Rome: and no wonder therefore that (3) in the last Lateran council the pope gave strait commandment to all preachers, that no man should presume once to speak of the coming of Antichrist. The king of France also (4) with the advice of his council interdicted, that any one should call the pope Antichrist: and Grotius, who was ambassador in France from the crown of Sweden, in a vain hope and expectation of reconciling the disputes and differences between papists and protestants, composed his treatise concerning Antichrist, not wickedly, but weakly; with an honest intention it may be presumed, but

"tionis et mendacii in iis qui
"pereunt." Mede's Works
B. 3. De numeris Danielis. p.
721, 22.

(2) Dialogorum libri 4. quo-
rum--quartus Romanæ ecclesiæ
sacramenta, Antichristi regnum
&c perstringit. Cave Hist. Litt.
Vol. 2. Appendix p. 63.

(3) Conc. Lateran. sub Julio
& Leone. Sess. 11. Jewel's De-
fense. ibid.

(4)--Prudentissimorum viro-
rum usus consilio interdixit ne
quis papam Antichristum vocet.
Grot. de Antichristo in prin-
cipio.

but it is certain with pernicious effect; more like an advocate for one party, than a moderator between both. At the same time in England, tho' James the first had written a treatise to prove the pope Antichrist, yet this doctrine was growing unfashionable during his reign, and more so in that of his son who married a bigotted popish princess; even while Mr. Mede was living, who had exerted more learning and sagacity in explaining the prophecies, and in fixing the true idea of Antichrist, than perhaps any writer in any age. But probably for this very reason he was looked upon with an evil eye, and (to the disgrace of the times) obtained no preferment, tho' he was eminently deserving of the best and greatest. He says himself in one of his Letters (Epist. 56.) that his notions about genuflexion towards the altar "would have made another man a dean, or a prebend, or something else ere this: but the point of the pope's being Antichrist, as a dead fly, marred the favor of that ointment." The abuse also that some fanatics made of this doctrine greatly prejudiced the world against it. It was esteemed a mark of a puritan, and was a certain

(5) See his book intitled *Appello Cæsarem*. Part 2. Chap. 5. Oxford 1684, and said to be published under the direction of Bishop Fell.

(6) Printed at the Theatre in

(7) Mr.

certain obstacle to preferment, for any man to preach that the pope was Antichrist: and Dr. Montague, a famous court-chaplain at that time, who endeavored to prove that the power of the king was absolute, (5) endeavored also to prove that the notes and characters of Antichrist belonged to the Turk rather than to the Pope: and herein he was followed by several divines, and by no less a man than Bishop Fell, if he was the compiler or approver (as he is commonly said to have been) of (6) the Paraphrase and Annotations upon all St. Paul's Epistles. There are fashions in divinity as well as in every thing else; and therefore the true doctrine of Antichrist was for some time suspended, and false hypotheses were invented; and it may surprise any one, that so little was said upon this subject in the long controversies concerning popery during the reigns of Charles and James the second. It is hoped that the truth is now emerging again. Some laudable (7) attempts have lately been made to revive and restore it: and if I have not proved that this interpretation is preferable to all others, I have taken pains, and proved nothing.

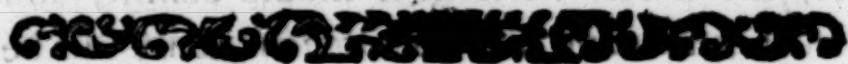
But

(7) Mr. Langford's Notes and Dissertation concerning the Characters of the Man of Sin. Man of Sin. &c. &c. Printed in 1746. Dr. Benson's

But it hath been proved, as I conceive, that this is the genuin sense and meaning of the apostle, that this only is entirely consistent with the context, that every other interpretation is forced and unnatural, that this is liable to no material objection, that it coincides perfectly with Daniel, that it is agreeable to the tradition of the primitive church, and that it hath been exactly fulfilled in all particulars, which cannot be said of any other interpretation whatsoever. Such a prophecy as this is at once an illustrious proof of divine revelation, and an excellent antidote to the poison of popery. It is like a two-edged sword, that will cut both ways, and wound the deist with one side, and the papist with the other. The papists are in some respect like the Jews. As the Jews believe not that Christ is come according to the prophecies, but still live in expectation of him; so neither do the papists perceive that Antichrist is come according to the prophecies, but still maintain that he will arise hereafter. The apostle not only foretels this blindness and infatuation, but likewise assigns the reason, *because they received not the love of the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.* But to the protestants, who believe and profess that both the Christ and Antichrist are come, we may say with the apostle (ver. 13,

14.) *We are bound to give thanks alway to God for you, brethren beloved of the Lord, because God hath chosen you to salvation, thro' sanctification of the spirit, and belief of the truth: Whereunto be called you by the gospel, to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. The apostle proceeds (ver. 15.) Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle: and certainly there is not any oral tradition that hath a juster claim to be thought apostolical, than this of the man of sin's succeeding upon the decline of the Roman empire, and exalting himself over all. Wherefore to conclude, as the apostle concludes the subject, (ver. 16, 17.) Now our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God even our Father, who hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation, and good hope, through grace, Comfort your hearts, and stablish you in every good word and work.*





XXII.

St. PAUL's *prophecy of the Apostasy of the latter times.*

ST. Paul was a man of lively thought and strong imagination. None of the apostles had a warmer zeal for Christ and the Christian religion. He was, as he saith himself, (2 Cor. XI. 23, 28, 29.) *in labors more abundant*; he had *the care of all the churches*; *Who is weak, saith he, and I am not weak? who is offended and I burn not?* It was natural for such a mind to be deeply affected with the foresight of the great apostasy of Christians from the true Christian faith and worship, and to lament it, and to forewarn his disciples of it, as often as there was occasion. He made this apostasy one topic of his discourse to the Thessalonians, while he was yet with them: and afterwards in his second Epistle to them, he gave them to understand that *the day of Christ was not at hand*, as they apprehended; *for there should come the apostasy first*; implying that it should be both extensive and of long duration. He mentions this apostasy again in his first Epistle to Timothy, and describes
more

more particularly wherein it should consist, and at what time, and by what means it should be propagated and advanced in the world. (1 Tim. IV. 1, 2, 3.) *Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils, Speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron; Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth.* The passage perhaps may better be translated thus, *But the Spirit speaketh expressly; He had been speaking before of the mystery of godliness, and now he proceeds to speak of the mystery of iniquity in opposition to it, But the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall apostatize from the faith, giving heed to erroneous spirits and doctrines concerning demons, Through the hypocrisy of liars, having their conscience seared with a hot iron, Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving by the believers and them who know the truth.* This translation will be justified by the following considerations, wherein it is proposed to show the true interpretation and exact completion of this prophecy. But this subject hath been so fully and learnedly discussed

discussed by the excellent (1) Mr. Mede, that we must be greatly obliged to him in the course of this dissertation. The dress and clothing may be somewhat different, but the body and substance must be much the same: and they must be referred to his works, who are desirous of obtaining farther satisfaction. Not that we would make a transcript only of any writer; we should hope to enforce and improve the subject by some new arguments and new illustrations; as *every scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven* (Matt. XIII. 52.) *is like unto a man that is an householder, who bringeth forth out of his treasure things new as well as old.*

I. The first thing to be considered is the apostasy here predicted, *Some shall depart* or rather *shall apostatize from the faith*. The apostle had predicted the same thing before to the Thessalonians, *The day of Christ shall not come, except there come a falling away* or rather *the apostasy first*. In the original the words are of the same import and derivation, ἀποστασία and ἀποστειναι; and they should have been translated both alike, as the same thing was intended in both places. An *apostasy from the faith* may be total or partial, either when we renounce the whole, or when
we

(1) See Mede's Works, B. 3. Monf. Jurieu's Accomplishment p. 623,—693. See likewise of the Prophecies. Part 1. Chap.

we deny some principal and essential article of it. The writers of the New Testament frequently derive their language as well as their ideas from the Old: and by considering what was accounted apostasy under the Mosaical œconomy, we may form the better notion of what it is under the Christian dispensation. It doth not appear that the Jews or Israelites ever totally renounced and abandoned the living and true God; he never ceased altogether to be their God, or they to be his people: but they revolted from their allegiance to God, when they worshipped him in an image, as in the golden calves, which was the sin and apostasy of Jeroboam; and when they worshipped other gods besides him, as Baalim and the host of heaven, which was the sin and apostasy of Ahab and Manasseh: and for the same reason the idolatry of Ahaz is by the Greek interpreters called (2 Chron. XXIX. 19.) ἀποστασία αὐτοῦ *his apostasy*, and it is said of him (XXVIII. 19.) that ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἠποστασεν ὁ Αἰζα *he apostatized greatly from the Lord*. Apostasy therefore was idolatry in the Jewish church, and it is the same in the Christian. This argument may receive some illustration from a (2) similar passage in St. Peter; (2 Pet. II. 1.) *There were false*

Chap. 18, 19, 20, 21.

XLIII. upon this text. p. 238.

(2) See Mede's Discourse &c.

(3) מְדַבְּרִים

false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them. As there were false prophets among the people of Israel, who seduced them to idolatry and the worshipping of other Gods besides the true God; so there shall be false teachers among Christians, who by plausible pretences and imperceptible degrees shall bring in the like damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, professing themselves to be his servants bought with a price, and yet denying him to be their lord and master by applying to other lords and mediators. It is not every error, or every heresy, that is apostasy from the faith. It is a revolt in the principal and essential article, when we worship God by any image or representation, or when we worship other beings besides God, and pray unto other mediators besides the one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus. This is the very essence of Christian worship, to worship the one true God thro' the one true Christ; and to worship any other God or any other mediator, is apostasy and rebellion against God and against Christ. It is, as St Paul saith, (Col. II. 19.) not holding the head, but depending upon other heads: It is, as St. Peter expresseth it, denying the

the Lord that bought us, and serving other lords: and the denial of such an essential part may as properly be called *apostasy*, as if we were to renounce the whole Christian faith and worship. It is renouncing them in effect, and not treating and regarding God as God, or Christ as Christ.

Such is the nature of *apostasy from the faith*; and it is implied that this apostasy should be general, and infect great numbers. For though it be said only *Some shall apostatize*, yet by *some* in this place *many* are understood. The word *some* may usually denote *few* in English; but in the learned languages it frequently signifies a multitude, and there are abundant instances in scripture. In St. John's Gospel it is said (VI. 60.) that *Many of Jesus his disciples, when they had heard this, said, This is an hard saying, who can bear it?* and again a little afterwards (ver. 66.) *Many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him:* but Jesus himself speaking of these *many* faith (ver. 64.) *There are some of you that believe not*; so that *some* are plainly the same as *many*. St. Paul speaking of the infidelity and rejection of the Jews faith, (Rom. XI. 17.) that *some of the branches are broken off*: but those *some*, it was evident, were the main body of the nation. The same apostle informs the Corinthians, (1 Cor. X. 5, 6.) that *With many of the Israelites*
God

God was not well pleased; for they were overtaken in the wilderness: and their punishments were intended for examples to Christians. Wherefore he concludes (ver. 7.) Neither be ye idolaters, as were some of them; as it is written, The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play: where some are manifestly the same as the people. Again (ver. 8.) Neither let us commit fornication, as some of them committed, and fell in one day three and twenty thousand: where some are equivalent to many thousands. Again (ver. 9.) Neither let us tempt Christ, as some of them also tempted, and were destroyed of serpents: where some are the same with much people; for we read (Num. XXI. 6.) that the Lord sent fiery serpents among the people; and they bit the people, and much people of Israel died. And again (ver. 10.) Neither murmur ye, as some of them also murmured, and were destroyed of the destroyer: where some are the same with all the congregation except Joshua and Caleb; for we read (Num. XIV. 1, 2.) that All the congregation lifted up their voice, and cried; and the people wept that night: And all the children of Israel murmured against Moses, and against Aaron; and the whole congregation said unto them, Would God that we had died in the land of Egypt, or would God we had died in this wilderness: and they had their wish, for except Joshua and Caleb, they

they all died in the wilderness. *Some* therefore may signify *many*, but *not all*; as the apostle speaketh elsewhere, (Heb. III. 16.) *For some when they had heard, did provoke; howbeit not all that came out of Egypt by Moses.* The apostle might have the same meaning in this place; and this apostasy may be general and extensive, and include *many* but *not all*. If only some few persons were to be concerned and engaged in it, it was scarcely an object worthy of prophecy: nor could that properly be pointed out as a peculiarity of *the latter times*, which is common to all times, for in all times there are some apostates or other. It must necessarily be a great apostasy; and it is called, as it hath been shown, *the apostasy* by way of eminence and distinction; but it would hardly have been distinguished in this emphatical manner, if only an inconsiderable number were to profess and embrace it. Other prophecies likewise intimate, that there should be a great and general corruption and apostasy in the Christian church; and the event will also confirm us in our opinion. For we have seen and still see a great part of Christendom guilty of the same sort of apostasy and defection as the Israelites were in former times. As the Israelites worshipped God in the golden calf and golden calves; for (Exod. XXXII. 5.) they proclaimed

Dissertations on the PROPHECIES.

*a feast to the Lord, and said (ver. 4. and 1 Kings XII. 28.) Behold thy Gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt: so there are Christians who worship their creator and redeemer in an image, or in a crucifix, or in the sacramental bread. As the Israelites worshipped Baalim or departed heroes, and as the Psalmist saith (Psal. CVI. 28.) ate the sacrifices of the dead: so there are Christians who worship departed saints, and institute fasts and festivals, and offer up prayers and praises unto them. And as this apostasy overspread the church of Israel for many ages, so hath it for many ages too overspread the church of Christ. The apostasy therefore is the very same in both churches. The apostle foresaw and foretold it; and upon the mention of Israel's provocation, very properly admonished the Christians to beware of the like infidelity and apostasy, (Heb. III. 12.) Take heed, Brethren, lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief in departing, *ἐν τῷ ἀποσπῆναι, in apostatizing from the living God.**

II. It is more particularly shown, wherein this apostasy should consist, in the following words, *giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, or rather giving heed to erroneous spirits and doctrines*

(3) אֲשֶׁר וְאֲשֶׁר i. e. πλανη, lum: et κῆρ πλανασθαι est idola Chaldaeis & Targumistis est id- colere et scortari. Rom. I. 27. 2 Theff.

doctrins concerning demons. For I conceive not the meaning to be, that this apostasy should proceed from the suggestion of evil spirits and instigation of devils. That would be no peculiar mark of distinction; that might be said of any wickedness in general, as well as of this in particular. The means too by which this apostasy should be propagated, and the persons who should propagate it, are described afterwards; so that this part is to be understood rather of things than of persons, rather of the matter wherein this apostasy should consist, than of the first teachers and authors of it. *Spirits* seem to be much the same in sense as *doctrins*, as Mr. Mede and other divines have observed the same word to be used also by St. John. (1 John IV. 1.) *Beloved, believe not every spirit, that is every doctrine, but try the spirits, that is the doctrines, whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world. Spirits and doctrines* therefore may be considered, the latter word as explanatory of the former: and *error* sometimes signifying (3) *idolatry*, *erroneous doctrines* may comprehend *idolatrous*, as well as *false doctrines*. But it is still farther added for explanation, that these doctrines should be *doctrins of devils*

OR

or of demons; where the genitive case is not to be taken actively, as if demons were the authors of these doctrines, but passively, as if demons were the subject of these doctrines. Thus a *doctrine of vanities* (διδασκαλία ματαιῶν Jer. X. 8.) is a doctrine concerning vanities or idols. The *doctrine of the Lord* (διδάκη τοῦ Κυρίου Acts XIII. 12.) is the doctrine concerning him: Then the deputy when he saw what was done, believed, being astonished at the doctrine of the Lord. The doctrines of baptisms (διδασκαλίαι βαπτισμῶν Heb. VI. 2.) and of laying on of hands, and of resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment, are doctrines relating to all these particulars. And by the same construction, διδασκαλίαι δαιμονίων, *doctrines of demons* are doctrines about and concerning demons. This is therefore a prophecy that the idolatrous theology of demons professed by the Gentiles should be revived among Christians. Christians should in process of time degenerate, and resemble the Gentiles as well as the

(4) Καὶ γὰρ πᾶν το δαιμονιον μεταξὺ ἐστὶ θεοῦ καὶ θ' ἡττ. Omnis enim dæmonum natura inter deum & mortale est intermedia. Platonis Sympos. p. 202. Tom. 3. Edit. Serrani.

(5) Θεοῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπου ὁ μιγνύται, ἀλλὰ διὰ τούτου πᾶσα ἐστὶν ἡ ὁμιλία καὶ ἡ διαλεκτικὸς θεοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπου. Deus autem cum homine

non miscetur, sed per hanc dæmonum naturam commercium omne atque colloquium inter deos hominesque conficitur. Ἑρμηνεύον καὶ διαπορεύμενον θεοῖς τὰ παρ' ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἀνθρώποις τὰ παρὰ θεῶν, τῶν μὲν τὰς διησεις καὶ θυσίας, τῶν δὲ τὰς ἐπιταγὰς τε καὶ ἀμοιβὰς τῶν θυσίων. Interpretis et portitoris quasi munere fungitur,

the apostate Jews. They should not only *apostatize* after the manner of the Jews, but should also *worship demons* after the manner of the Gentiles.

Demons, according to the theology of the Gentiles, were middle powers between the sovran Gods and mortal men. So saith Plato, the most competent judge and the most consummate writer in these subjects; (4) ‘Every demon is a middle being between God and mortal man.’ These demons were regarded as mediators and agents between the Gods and men. So saith Plato again, (5) ‘God is not approached by man, but all the commerce and intercourse between Gods and men is by the mediation of demons. The demons, saith he, are interpreters and conveyers from men to the Gods, and from the Gods to men, of the supplications and sacrifices on the one part, and of the commands and rewards of sacrifices on the other.” Apuleius, a later philosopher, giveth (6) the like description. ‘De-
mons

fungitur, ut res humanas ad deos, divinas ad homines transferrat: horum quidem preces & sacrificia, illorum vero præcepta & sacrificiorum remunerationes. Ibid. p. 202, 203.

(6) Mediæpotestates, per quas et desideria nostra & merita ad deos committant, inter terricolas cœlicolasque vectores, hinc pre-

cum, inde donorum, qui ultrocitraque portant hinc petitiones, inde suppetias, seu quidem utrinque interpretes et salutigeri. — Neque enim pro maiestate deum cœlestium fuerit, hæc curare. Apuleius de Deo Socratis. p. 674, 677. Edit. Delph.

‘mons are middle powers, by whom both our
 ‘desires and deserts pass unto the Gods; they are
 ‘carriers between men on earth and the Gods in
 ‘heaven; hence of prayers, thence of gifts; they
 ‘convey to and fro, hence petitions, thence sup-
 ‘plies; or they are interpreters on both sides, and
 ‘bearers of salutations; for it would not be,
 ‘faith he, for the majesty of the celestial Gods
 ‘to take care of these things.’ The whole is
 summed up by the said Apuleius (7) in few
 words, ‘All things are done by the will,
 ‘power, and authority of the celestial Gods,
 ‘but by the obedience, service, and ministry
 ‘of the demons.’ Of these demons there were
 accounted two kinds. One kind of demons

were

(7) Cuncta cœlestium volun- et ministerio fieri arbitrandum
 tate, numine, et auctoritate, sed est. Ibid. p. 675.
 dæmonum obsequio, et opera,

(8) Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ μὲν τὸ τοῦ γένος κατὰ γαῖαν καλύψε,

Τοὶ μὲν δαίμονες εἰσι, Δίος μεγάλα δ' αἰ βουλὰς,

Ἐσθ' ὁ, ἐπιχθόνιοι, [αἰετίζικακοι] φιλάκε; θνητῶν ἀΐθευπ' ἄν'

Ὅ, ἔα φυλασσῆσθαι τε δίκας καὶ σχετλῖα ἔργα,

Ἦερα ἰσταμένοι, πάντα φειδωντες ἐπ' αἶαν,

Πλετοδοταὶ καὶ τῆ τοῦ γένος βασιλῆων ἰσχον.

Verum postquam hoc genus terra abscondit,

Il quidem divi facti sunt, Jovis magni consilio,

Boni, in terris versantes, custodes mortaliū hominum:

Qui quidem observant judicia et prava opera,

Culigine amicti, passim euntes per terram,

Opum datores: atque hoc munus regale consecuti sunt.

Hesiod. Op. et Dier. Lib. I. 120.

(9) λέγει υἱ καλῶς καὶ ἔτος καὶ καὶ γινεται δαίμων. Præclare
 ἄλλοι πεινῶνται πολλοὶ, ὅσοι λεγῶσιν, igitur et hic et alii poetæ, qui-
 ὡς ἐπιδαν τις ἀγαθὸς ἂν τελευτήσῃ, cunque affirmanteum qui bonus
 μεγάλην μοῖραν καὶ τιμὴν ἔχει, sit, ubi mortuus fuerit, magnæ
 ejusdem

were the souls of men deified or canonized after death. So Hesiod, one of the most ancient heathen writers, if not the most ancient, describing that happy race of men, who lived in the first and golden age of the world, (8) saith that ‘ after this generation were dead, they were by the will of great Jupiter promoted to be demons, keepers of mortal men, observers of their good and evil works, givers of riches, &c; and this, saith he, is the royal honor that they enjoy. Plato concurs with Hesiod, and (9) asserts that he and many other poets speak excellently, who affirm that when good men die, they attain great honor and dignity, and become demons.’ The same Plato in another place (1) maintains, that

cujusdam fortis consequi dignitatem, et δαίμονα εἶναι. Platonis Cratylus. p. 398. Tom. 1. Edit. Serrani.

(1) Τῶν δὲ δὴ ἀποθανόντων ἐπὶ στρατίας, ὅς αὖ εὐδοκίμησας τελευτήσῃ, ἀρ’ ἢ πρῶτον μὲν φησομεν τὴ χρύσει γενεῇ εἶναι; Πάντων γὰρ μάλιστα. Ἀλλ’ ἢ πιστομεθα Ἡσιόδῳ; ἐπειδὴν τις; τὴ τοιαύτη γενεῇ τελευτήσωσιν, ὡς ἀρεῇ

Οἱ μὲν δαίμονες —
καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν δὴ χρόνον, ὡς δαίμονων, ἢ τῷ θεραπεύσομεν τε καὶ προσκυνήσομεν αὐτῶν τὰς θήκας. ταῦτα δὲ ταύτῃ νομιζομένην ὅταν τις γῆρας ἢ τινὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ τελευτήσῃ τῶν ὅσοι αὖ διαφέροντως ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἀγαθοὶ κριθῶσι. Eum vero qui re præclarè gesta in bello occu-

buerit, nonne dicemus ad genus aureum pertinere? Maxime omnium. Nonne Hesiodi sententiam sequemur? quod videlicet illi homines, qui ex aureo illo fuerint genere, ubi primum fato concesserint,

Dæmones existunt, —
Reliquum autem tempus eorum sepulcra veluti dæmonum colimus, et divinis honoribus prosequemur. Eadem quoque fanciemus atque exhibebimus iis, qui quum singularis cujusdam probitatis dignitate excelluerint, vel senio vel alio quopiam modo e vita excefferint. Plato de Repub. Lib. 5. p. 468. Tom. 2. Edit. Serrani.

that ‘all those who die valiantly in war are of
 ‘Hesiod’s golden generation, and are made
 ‘demons; and we ought for ever afterwards
 ‘to serve and adore their sepulchres, as the
 ‘sepulchres of demons. The same also we
 ‘decree, whenever any of those, who were judged
 ‘excellently good in life, die either of old age,
 ‘or in any other manner.’ The other kind of
 demons were such as had never been the souls
 of men, nor ever dwelt in mortal bodies. Thus
 Apuleius (2) informs us, ‘There is another and
 ‘higher kind of demons, who were always free
 ‘from the incumbrances of the body; and out
 ‘of this higher order Plato supposeth that guar-
 ‘dians were appointed unto men.’ Ammonius
 likewise in Plutarch (3) reckons two kinds of
 demons, ‘souls separated from bodies, or such
 ‘as had never inhabited bodies at all.’ These
 latter demons may be paralleled with angels, as
 the

(2) Superius aliud augustius-
 que demonum genus, qui sem-
 per a corporis compedibus et
 nexibus liberi—Ex hac subli-
 miori demonum copia autumat
 Plato singulis hominibus in
 vita agenda testes et custodes
 singulos additos. Apuleius de
 Deo Socratis. p. 690.

(3) αἱ διακριθεῖσαι σωματός ἢ μὴ
 μετασχηματῆσαι τὸ παραπλὴν ψυχῆς.
 animi secreti a corporibus, aut

omnino quibus nullum est cum
 corporibus commercium. Plut.
 de Defect. Orac. p. 431. Tom.
 2. Edit. Paris. 1624.

(4) τῶν παντὶ παλαιῶν—λογον,
 ὡς τὰ φαντασμα δαιμόνια καὶ βασ-
 κανα, προσφθιόντα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς
 ἀνδράσιν, καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐνθα-
 μένα, ταραχὰς καὶ φόβους ἐπαγα-
 γόντα καὶ σφαλλόντα τὴν ἀρετὴν·
 ὡς μὴ διαμεινάντες ἀπλῶς ἐν τῷ
 καλῷ

the former may with canonized saints: and as we Christians believe that there are good and evil angels, so did the Gentiles that there were good and evil demons. According to Plutarch, (4) 'it was a very ancient opinion, that there are certain wicked and malignant demons, who envy good men, and endeavor to hinder them in the pursuit of virtue, lest they should be partakers at last of greater happiness than they enjoy.' At least this was the opinion of all the later philosophers.

But here it is objected, that tho' this might be the notion of the Gentiles concerning demons, yet the scripture-account of them is very different: for in the scriptures, as St. Austin (5) observes, we never read of good demons; but wheresoever in those writings the name of demon occurs, none but evil spirits are meant: and it must be confessed and allowed, that this

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καλῶν καὶ ἀκεραίων, βελτιονῶν ἐκείνων
μοίρας μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τυχεύουσιν.
ex veteribus opinionibus--mala
dæmonia et invida esse bonis
viris æmulantia, quæ, quo ob-
strepant illorum actionibus, com-
motiones iis et pavores invehant,
hisque concutiant et impellant
virtutem, ne erecti et integri in
virtute permanentes, potiore
quam ipsi consequantur a fati
sortem. Plut. Dion in initio.

p. 958. Tom. 1. Edit. Paris.
1624.

(5) —nunquam vero bonos
dæmones legimus: sed ubicun-
que illarum litterarum hoc no-
men positum reperitur, five dæ-
mones, five dæmonia dicantur,
non nisi maligni significantur
spiritus. Augustin. de Civitat.
Dei. Lib. 9. Cap. 19. Col. 178.
Tom. 7. Edit. Benedict. Ant-
werp.

(6) Strabo

is the most usual signification of the word ; but some instances may be alleged to the contrary. When St. Paul was at Athens, and preached the gospel in that city, *certain philosophers of the Epicureans and of the Stoics encountred him* (Acts XVII. 18.) and charged him with being a *setter forth of strange gods* *ξένων δαιμονίων* of *strange demons, because he preached unto them Jesus and the resurrection.* Here demons cannot possibly signify devils, but must necessarily refer to Jesus, who according to Paul's preaching (ver. 31.) was *raised from the dead*, and appointed to be the lord and judge of the world. At the same time the apostle retorts the charge upon the Athenians, (ver. 22.) *Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious,* *δεισιδαίμονες*, *too much addicted to the worship of demons;* and they worshipped demons or dead men deified in abundance : but he declared unto them (ver. 24.) *God who made the world, and all things therein.* St. Paul in his first Epistle thus exhorts the Corinthians (1 Cor. X. 14, 20, 21.) *Flee from idolatry. The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils,* *δαιμονίοις*, *to demons, and not to God : and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils,* *δαιμονίοις*, *demons. Ye cannot drink the cup of the*
Lord,

(6) Strabo. Lib. 8. & Euripides apud Strabonem. p. 378, 379.
 Edit.

Lord, and the cup of devils, δαιμονίων, of demons; ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils, δαιμονίων, of demons. The apostle is here showing the great inconsistency of the Christian worship with the idolatrous worship performed by the Heathens. The Heathens worshipped Jupiter, Apollo, Venus, and numberless other beings, who were reputed demons, but who were properly deceased men and women deified. Corinth in particular (6) was much devoted to the worship of Venus; there she had a most magnificent temple and service; and the city was called the city of Venus. The apostle therefore declares that all such worship is utterly inconsistent with the true worship of Christ. For that would be acknowledging him for their only lord, and at the same time acknowledging other lords. And (ver. 22.) *do we provoke the Lord to jealousy; are we stronger than he?* These passages, together with the text that we are considering, are, I think, all the places in St. Paul's discourses or epistles, where the word *demon* occurs: and as he was of all the apostles the most learned in the philosophy and theology of the Gentiles, and as he was speaking and writing to Gentiles, that might be the reason of his adopting the same notion of demons. He had plainly alluded

luded to this notion a little before in the same Epistle to the Corinthians, (1 Cor. VIII. 4, 5, 6.) and the passage cannot be so well understood without it. *There is none other God but one. For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth; whether Dii cælestes, celestial Gods, as they are usually denominated, or δαίμονες επιχθονιοι, earthly demons, as they are named by Hesiod, mediators and agents between heaven and earth: as there be gods many and lords many; as the Gentiles acknowledge a plurality of such superior and inferior deities; But to us Christians there is but one God the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, εις αυτον, we to him are to direct all our services; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him, δι' αυτου, we by or through him alone have access unto the Father. They have a multitude of gods and lords, but we have only one of each sort. It is the same doctrine that he inculcates likewise in his first Epistle to Timothy, (II. 5.) For there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus. As St. Paul here foretels that Christians in the latter times should attend to doctrines concern-*
ing

(7) πληρῆνται γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῦτα γὰρ, φησὶ, νεκροῖς λατρεύοντες, το, ἀποσησονται τινε; τῆς ἡγίας, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰσραὴλ ἐσθλασθησαν. διδασκαλίας, ὡς τεχούτες μὲν; Hoc enim in ipsis impletur; καὶ διδασκαλίας; δαίμονων. εἰσονται Deficient quidam a sana doctrina,

ing demons, so St. John also foretels (Rev. IX. 20.) that notwithstanding the plagues of the Arabian locusts and of the Euphratéan horsemen, yet they should not repent of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, δαίμονια, demons; where the word is plainly used in the same sense as by St. Paul: for Christians never actually worshipped devils, but they worshipped demons, deceased men and women and angels, and idols of gold and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood, which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk; and they still continue to worship them, notwithstanding the grievous calamities inflicted on the Christian church by the Saracens first, and by the Turks afterwards, as we shall see in the proper place.

There is a passage in Epiphanius, which will very much illustrate and confirm our explanation of St. Paul. That father, who was very zealous against the worship of saints and images, which was then springing up in the church, loudly complains of some Arabian Christians, who made a goddess of the blessed virgin, and offered a cake to her as to the queen of heaven. He condemns their heresy as impious and abominable, and (7) declares that ‘ upon these also is fulfilled that ‘ of

trina, intendentes fabulis, et doctrinis dæmoniorum: erunt enim, inquit, mortuos colentes, quemadmodum apud Israelitas

honore sunt affecti. Epiphan. advers. Hæer. 78. p. 1055. Tom. 1. Edit. Petav.

‘ of the apostle, *Some shall apostatize from the sound doctrine, giving heed to fables and doctrines of demons; for they shall be, saith the apostle, worshippers of the dead, as in Israel also they were worshipped,*’ meaning the Baalim and Ashtaroth who were worshipped by the children of Israel. It is observable that he explains, as well as recites the words of the apostle. He expounds *the faith by the sound doctrine, erroneous spirits by fables, and doctrines of demons by worshipping of the dead*: and to show more particularly what he meant, he subjoins two examples more of such worship; one of the Sichemites, who had a goddess under the title of Jephthah’s daughter; and the other of the Egyptians, who worshipped Thermutis, that daughter of Pharoah, who was at the charge of educating Moses. Now whether this latter clause, *For they shall be worshippers of the dead, as in Israel also they were worshipped*, be genuine or not, it may serve our purpose in some measure either way. If it was the original text of St. Paul, as (8) Beza and more particularly Mr. Mann contend, then the point that we have been proving is established beyond all possible contradiction. If it was only a marginal reading added by way of explication, as

Mr.

(8) Beza in locum. Mr. Mann’s Critical Notes on some passages of Scripture. p. 92. —103.

(9) Mede’s

(9) Mr. Mede and Dr. Mill suppose, it still evinces that Epiphanius, and some before his time, understood the passage in the same manner that we have explained it. The apostle delivers the prophecy as a *plain* and *express* one; and it cannot be denied, that the passage is much improved, and the sense is made much clearer by this addition. Epiphanius too recites this addition, as the very words of the apostle; and a man of his character for probity and piety would not be guilty of forging such a testimony. If it be not quoted by other fathers, nor appear in other copies, it is probable that the fathers, who began this worship very early, would not be forward to produce a text to their own conviction and confusion; and it is possible that when this worship prevailed almost universally, a text which so plainly condemned it, might be wholly omitted; as in later times, for the same reason, we have seen in some catechisms and manuals of devotion, the second left out of the ten commandments, and the tenth divided into two to make up the number. It ought not indeed to be concealed, that Clemens Alexandrinus, a celebrated father and writer of the second century, hath (1) cited this passage

(9) Mede's Works. p. 637.
Mill. in locum.

(1) Clem. Alex. Stromat.
Lib. 3. p. 550. Edit. Potter.

(2) See

passage of St. Paul, just as it appears in our present copies, which is a considerable argument in support of the common reading. But possibly the same persons who left the words in question out of St. Paul, might also leave them out of Clemens Alexandrinus; and they might have struck them out of Epiphanius too, if they had been equally aware of them, or if the thing had been equally practicable, and the context would have suffered it without the most palpable discovery of the fraud. Upon the whole it may be concluded concerning this passage in Epiphanius, that if it doth not exhibit the genuine reading, yet at least it establisheth the genuine sense and meaning of the text of St. Paul.

It appears then that *the doctrines of demons*, which prevailed so long in the Heathen world, should be revived and established in the Christian church: and is not the worship of saints and angels now in all respects the same that the worship of demons was in former times? The name only is different, the thing is identically the same. The Heathens, as we see, looked upon their demons as mediators and intercessors between God and men: and are not the saints and angels regarded in the same light by many professed

(e) See these particulars historically deduced in Sir Isaac Newton's

professed Christians? Some tendency to the worshipping of angels was observed even in the apostle's time, inasmuch that he thought proper to give this caution to the Colossians, (II. 18.)

Let no man beguile you of your reward, in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels: and this admonition, we may suppose, checked and suppressed this worship for some generations.

The worshipping of the dead was not introduced so early into the church; it was advanced by slower degrees; and what was at first nothing more than a pious and decent respect to the memory of saints and martyrs, degenerated at last into an impious and idolatrous adoration.

At first (2) annual festivals were instituted to their honor; the next step was praying in the cœmeteries at their sepulchres; then their bodies were translated into churches; then a power of working miracles was attributed to their dead bodies, bones, and other relics; then their wonder-working relics were conveyed from place to place, and distributed among the other churches; then they were invoked and adored for performing such miracles, for assisting men in their devotions, and interceding for them with God; and not only the churches, but even the fields
and

Newton's Observations on Daniel, Chap. 14. p. 203—231.

and highways were filled with altars for invoking them.

As early as in the time of Constantine, the first christian emperor, we find Eusebius, one of the best and most learned of the fathers, quoting and approving Hesiod's and Plato's notions before-mentioned concerning demons, and then (3) adding 'These things are befitting upon
' the decease of the favorites of God, whom
' you may properly call the champions of the
' true religion : Whence it is our custom to
' assemble at their sepulchres, and to make our
' prayers at them, and to honor their blessed
' souls.' Here Eusebius compares the saints and martyrs with the demons of the Gentiles, and esteems them worthy of the same honor. The famous

(3) Καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἀρμοζει ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν θεοφίλων τελευτῇ, ὡς στρατιώτας τῆς ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας ἔκ ἀν ἀμαρτοῦς εἰπὼν, παραλαμβάνεσθαι. ἰδεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς θήκας αὐτῶν ἰδοὺς ἡμῖν παρίεναι, καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς παρὰ ταύταις ποιεῖσθαι, τιμᾶν τε τὰς μακαρίας αὐτῶν ψυχὰς. Quæ quidem in hominum Deo carissimorum obitus egregie conveniunt, quos veræ pietatis milites jure appellaris. Nam et eorum sepulcra celebrare, et preces ibi vota que nuncupare, et beatas illorum animas venerari consuevimus. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 13. Cap. 11. p. 663. Edit. Vigeri.

(4) σπουδάσατε δὲ μάλλον καὶ ὑμεῖς αἰεὶ συναπτεῖν ἑαυτὰς, προηγεμένως μὲν τῷ κυρίῳ, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖς ἁγίοις· ἵνα μετὰ θανάτου ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰς αἰωνίους σκηνας, ὡς φίλους καὶ γνωστούς, δεξῶνται καὶ αὐτοὶ. Id curate ut in primis vos Domino, dehinc Sanctis adjungatis : ut post mortem vos in æterna tabernacula, quasi amicos notosque sibi recipiant. Vita Antonii. Cap. 91. p. 863. Athanasii Oper. Tom. 1. Par. 2. Edit. Benedict.

(5) — πολλὰς ἐπεισάγοντες τῇ παλαιᾷ νεκρῇ τῆς προσφατοῦς νεκρῆς — additis ad priscum illum mortuum novis mortuis — Julian

famous Antony, who was one of the great founders of monkery, gave it in charge (4) to the monks with his dying breath, ‘ To take
‘ care and adhere to Christ in the first place,
‘ and then to the saints, that after death they
‘ may receive you as friends and acquaintance
‘ into the everlasting tabernacles.’ His advice was but too well followed; and the emperor Julian (5) reproacheth the Christians for adding many new dead men to that ancient dead man, Jesus. All the fathers almost of the fourth and fifth centuries contributed too much to the support and propagation of this superstition: and Theodoret in particular, having cited the same passages of Hesiod and Plato, (6) reasons thus,
‘ If then the poet hath called good men, after
‘ their

lian. apud Cyril. Lib. 10. p. 335. Edit. Spanhemii.

(6) Ε. τῶν καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ ἐσθλῆς καὶ ἀλεξικακῆς καὶ φιλακᾶς θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, τῆς ἀρετᾶς βεβαιωτοῦς, εἰτα τελευτήσαντας, προσηγορεύσεν· ἐκράτουν δὲ τοῖς τοῦ λόγου τῶν φιλοσοφῶν ὁ ἀριστός, καὶ χρῆναι εἶπεν καὶ θεραπεύειν τῶν καὶ προσκλίνει τὰς θήκας· τί δὴ τα μεμφέσθαι τοῖς παρ’ ἡμῶν γιγνομένοις, ὡ βέλτεροι; τὰς γὰρ ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ λαμβάνοντας, καὶ ὑπὲρ ταύτης τὴν σφαγὴν δεξιμαίους, ἀλεξικακῆς ἡμεῖς καὶ ἰατρὸς νομαζόμεν· οὐ δαίμονας καλεῖντες; μὴ ἔτω λυτῆσαιμεν. ἀλλὰ θεῶν φίλους καὶ εὐσεβῆς θεραπευόντας. Quod si poeta, et bonos, et malorum

depulsores, et custodes mortalium vocavit eos, qui optime vixerunt, deinde mortui sunt; ejusque sententiam philosophorum præstantissimus confirmavit, atque horum sepulera colenda et adoranda censuit; quæ a nobis fiunt, optimi viri, cur damnatiss? Nos enim pari modo, eos qui pietate claruerunt, proque ea cæsi sunt, malorum depulsores, et medicos nominamus, demones non appellamus. (absit a nobis hic furor) sed Dei amicos fervosque benevolos. Theod. Serm. 8. De Martyribus. p. 602. Tom. 4. Edit. Paris. 1642.

‘ their decease, the deliverers and guardians of
 ‘ mortal men; and the best of philosophers hath
 ‘ confirmed the poet’s saying, and asserted that
 ‘ we ought to serve and adore their sepulchres;
 ‘ why I beseech you Sirs (speaking to the Greeks)
 ‘ do you blame the things which are done by
 ‘ us? for such as were illustrious for piety, and
 ‘ for the sake thereof received martyrdom, we
 ‘ also name deliverers and physicians, not calling
 ‘ them demons, (let us not be so desperately
 ‘ mad) but the friends and sincere servants of
 ‘ God.’ Here Theodoret plainly allows the
 thing, and only disapproves the name. Again
 he (7) saith in the same exalted strain concerning
 the martyrs, ‘ They who are well pray for the
 ‘ continuance of health, and they who have
 ‘ been long sick pray for recovery; the barren
 ‘ also pray for children; and they who are to
 ‘ make

(7) οἱ μὲν ὑγιαίνοντες, αὐτοὶ
 τῆς ὑγείας τὴν φυλακὴν· οἱ δὲ τιμ
 ῶσιν παλαιόντες, τὴν τῶν παθημα
 τῶν ἀπαλλαγὴν· αὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ
 ἀγνοοῦν παιδάς—καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τινὰ
 ἀποδῆμιαν φελλόμενοι, λιπαρῶσι
 τῶν ξυνοδοποιῶν γενέσθαι, καὶ τῆς
 ἰδὲ ἡγεμονίας—ἐκ ὧς θεοῖς αὐτοῖς
 προσκύνοντες, ἀλλ’ ὧς θεοῖς ἀνδρω
 πῶν ἀντιβόληντες, καὶ γενέσθαι
 προσέβουτας ἐπὶ σφῶν παροικούν
 τες. Qui integra sunt valetu
 dine, hanc sibi conservari, qui
 autem morbo quopiam con
 ficiantur, hunc depelli petunt.

Petunt et liberos qui his carent
 —Qui peregrinationem aliquam
 auspicantur, ab his petunt, ut
 viæ sibi comites sint, ducesque
 itineris—non illos adeuntes ut
 deos, sed tanquam divinos
 homines eos orantes, intercessō
 resque sibi ut esse velint postu
 lantes. Ibid. p. 605, 606.

(8) καὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν τῶν καλῶ
 μένων θεῶν τὴν μνημὴν ἐκ τῆς τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν ἐξηλείψαν διανοίας.—
 τῆς γὰρ οὐκείας κενῆς· ὁ δὲ σκοπὸς
 ἀντιστῆναι τοῖς ὑμετέροισι θεοῖς. καὶ
 τῆς

‘ make a long journey desire them to be the
 ‘ companions and guides in the way ; not going
 ‘ to them as Gods, but applying to them as to
 ‘ divine men, and beseeching them to become in-
 ‘ tercessors for them with God.’ Nay he saith (8)
 ‘ that the martyrs have blotted out of the minds
 ‘ of men the memory of those who were called
 ‘ Gods. For our Lord hath brought his dead
 ‘ into the place of your Gods, whom he hath
 ‘ utterly abolished, and hath given their honor
 ‘ to the martyrs: for instead of the feasts of
 ‘ Jupiter and of Bacchus are now celebrated the
 ‘ festivals of Peter, and Paul, and Thomas, and
 ‘ the other martyrs. Wherefore seeing the ad-
 ‘ vantage of honoring the martyrs, fly, O friends,
 ‘ from the error of the demons ; and using the
 ‘ martyrs as lights and guides, pursue the way
 ‘ which leadeth directly to God.’ Here are *the*

doctrins

της μεν φρενης απεφηνε, τετοις δε
 τα εκεινων απενεμε γερα. αντι γαρ
 δη των Πανδιων, και Διονυσιων—
 Πετρῳ, κῃ Παυλῳ, κῃ Θωμῳ,—
 και των αλλων μαρτυρων, επιτε-
 λονται δημῳδοιαι.—εραν. ε; τοιουν
 της των μαρτυρων τιμης το ωφελι-
 μον, φευγετε, ω φιλοι, των δαιμο-
 νων τον πλανον, και τετοις φωτησι
 κῃ ποδηγοις κεχημενοι, την προς
 θεον αghσαν πορειαν ὁδευσατε. —
 cum eorum quoque qui passi
 dii ferebantur, memoriam e
 mente hominum aboleverint—
 suos enim mortuos dominus

deus noster in templa pro diis
 vestris induxit: ac illos quidem
 cassos vanosque reddidit, his
 autem honorem illorum attri-
 buit. Pro Pandiis enim ac
 Dionysiis—Petri, et Pauli, et
 Thomæ—aliorumque marty-
 rum solemnitates peraguntur.--
 Cum igitur ex honore martyri-
 bus delato quid utilitatis prove-
 niat cernatis, fugite, amici,
 daemonum errorem, præviaque
 illorum face atque ductu, viam
 capeffite, quæ ad deum perdu-
 cit. Ibid. p. 606, 607.

doctrins of demons evidently revived, only the name is altered, and the saints are substituted for the demons, the Divi or deified men of the Christians for the Divi or deified men of the Heathens.

The promoters of this worship were sensible that it was the same, and that the one succeeded to the other; and as the worship is the same, so likewise is it performed with the same ceremonies, whether these ceremonies were derived from the same source of superstition common to the whole race of mankind, or were the direct copies of one another. The (9) burning of incense or perfumes on several altars at one and the same time; the sprinkling of holy water, or a mixture of salt and common water, at going into and coming out of places of public worship; the lighting up of a great number of lamps and wax candles, in broad day-light, before the altars and statues of their deities; the hanging up of votive offerings and rich presents as attestations of so many miraculous cures and deliverances from diseases and dangers; the canonization or deification of deceased worthies; the assigning of distinct provinces or prefectures to departed heroes and saints; the worshipping and adoring of the dead in their sepulchres, shrines, and
relics;

(9) The reader may see this conformity between Popery and Paganism proved at large by

Dr. Henry More in his Second Part of the *Mystery of Iniquity*, B.I. Chap. 17. by Dr. Middleton

relics ; the consecrating and bowing down to images ; the attributing of miraculous powers and virtues to idols ; the setting up of little oratories, altars and statues, in the streets and highways, and on the tops of mountains ; the carrying of images and relics in pompous processions with numerous lights, and with music and singing ; flagellations at solemn seasons, under the notion of penance ; the making a sanctuary of temples and churches ; a great variety of religious orders and fraternities of priests ; the shaving of priests, or the tonsure, as it is called, on the crown of their heads ; the imposing of celibacy and vows of chastity on the religious of both sexes ; all these and many more rites and ceremonies are equally parts of Pagan and of Popish superstition. Nay the very same temples, the very same altars, the very same images, which once were consecrated to Jupiter and the other demons, are now reconsecrated to the virgin Mary and the other saints. The very same titles and inscriptions are ascribed to both ; the very same prodigies and miracles are related of these as of those. In short the whole almost of Paganism is converted and applied to Popery ; the one is manifestly formed upon the same plan and

ton in his Letter from Rome, Popery and Paganism, and other
by Mr. Seward in his Dissertation learned and ingenious authors.
tion on the Conformity between

and principles as the other ; so that there is not only a conformity, but even an uniformity in the worship of ancient and modern, of Heathen and Christian Rome.

III. Such an apostasy as this of reviving *the doctrines of demons* and worshipping the dead, was not likely to succeed and take place immediately ; it should prevail and prosper *in the latter times*. The phrase of *the latter times* or *days*, or *the last times* or *days*, as it hath been observed upon (1) a former occasion, signifies any time yet to come ; but denotes more particularly the times of Christianity. So we find it used by some of the ancient prophets, as for example Isaiah, Micah, and Joel. Isaiah saith (II. 2.) *And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills ; and all nations shall flow unto it.* Micah to the same purpose, and almost in the same words, (IV. 1.) *But in the last days it shall come to pass, that the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established in the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills, and people shall flow unto it.* And Joel, as he is quoted by St. Peter, (Acts II. 16, 17.) *But this is that which was*
spoken

(1) In Dissertation IV.

(2) In

spoken by the prophet Joel; And it shall come to pass in the last days (saith God) I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh. The times of Christianity may properly be called *the latter times or days*, or *the last times or days*, because it is the last of all God's revelations to mankind. Daniel also having measured all future time by the succession of four principal kingdoms, and having affirmed that the kingdom of Christ should be set up during the last of the four kingdoms, the phrase of *the latter times or days*, or of *the last times or days*, may still more properly signify the times of the Christian dispensation. Thus it is applied by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, (Hebr. I. 1, 2.) *God, who, at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, Hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son.* Thus also St. Peter, (1 Pet. I. 20.) *Christ verily was fore-ordained before the foundation of the world, but was manifest in these last times for you.*

But there is a farther notation of time in the prophet Daniel; there are the last times taken singly and comparatively, or the latter times (as I may say after Mr. Mede) of the last times, which are the times of the little horn or of Antichrist, (Dan. VII.) who should arise during the latter part of the last of the four kingdoms,
and

and should be destroyed together with it, after having continued *a time, and times, and half a time*. What these times signify, and how they are to be computed, hath been shown in a (2) former dissertation: and it is in reference to these times especially, that many things under the gospel-dispensation are predicted to fall out *in the latter times or days, or in the last times or days*. So St. Peter speaketh (2 Pet. III. 3.) *There shall come in the last days scoffers walking after their own lusts*. So too St. Jude, (ver. 17, 18.) *Beloved, remember ye the words which were spoken before of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ; How that they told you, there should be mockers in the last time, who should walk after their own ungodly lusts*. So likewise St. Paul, (2 Tim. III. 1.) *This know also that in the last days perilous times shall come*. These also are *the latter times* spoken of in the text. In these times the worship of the dead should principally prevail; and that it hath so prevailed, all mankind can testify. The practice might begin before, but the popes have authorized and established it by law. The popish worship is more the worship of demons than of God or Christ.

IV. Ano-

(2) In Dissertation XIV.

(3) Πῆτας præscriptè sive præ-

cisè, non obscuré et involuté, quemadmodum loqui solet in prophe-

IV. Another remarkable peculiarity of this prophecy is the solemn and emphatic manner, in which it is delivered, *The Spirit speaketh expressly*. Every one will readily apprehend, that by *the Spirit* is meant the holy Spirit of God, which inspired the prophets and apostles. So *the Spirit* (Acts VIII. 29.) said unto Philip, *Go near, and join thyself to this chariot*. So *the Spirit* (Acts X. 19.) said unto Peter, *Behold three men seek thee*. So *the Spirit* (Rev. XIV. 13.) saith *Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, that they may rest from their labors*. But these things the Spirit only said; it is not affirmed, that he said them expressly. The Spirit's *speaking expressly*, as (3) Erasmus and others expound it, is his speaking precisely and certainly, not obscurely and involvedly, as he is wont to speak in the prophets: and Whitby argues farther, that in those times of prophecy, when the prophets had the government of the churches, and spake still in the public assemblies, it might reasonably be said, *The Spirit speaketh expressly*, what they taught expressly in the church. But I would prefer Mr. Mede's interpretation, that *the Spirit speaketh expressly* what he speaketh in express

prophetis. Erasmi. in locum. Whitby ibid.

express words in some place or other of divine writ: and the Spirit hath spoken the same things in express words before in the prophecy of Daniel: Daniel hath foretold in express words the worship of new demons or demi-gods: (Dan. XI. 38.) *And with God, or instead of God Mabuzzim in his estate shall be honor; even with God, or instead of God, those whom his fathers knew not shall be honor with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and desireable things.* The *Mabuzzim* of Daniel are the same as the *Demons* of St. Paul, Gods-protectors or Saints-protectors, defenders and guardians of mankind. Daniel also hath foretold in express words, that this worship should be accompanied with a prohibition of marriage: (ver. 37.) *Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women; that is he shall neglect and discourage the desire of wives, and all conjugal affection.* Daniel likewise hath intimated that this worship should take place *in the latter times*; for he hath described it in the latter part of his prophecy, and these times he hath expressly named *a time and times and half a time*. If the reader hath been at the trouble of perusing the latter dissertation upon the eleventh chapter of Daniel, he will more easily perceive the connexion and resemblance between the two prophecies. This
therefore

therefore is a prophecy not dictated merely by private suggestion and inspiration, but taken out of the written word. It is a prophecy not only of St. Paul, but of Daniel too, or rather of Daniel confirmed and approved by St. Paul.

V. Having shown wherein the great apostasy of the latter times consists, namely in reviving the doctrines concerning demons and worshipping the dead, the apostle proceeds to describe by what means and by what persons it should be propagated and established in the world: *Speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron, or rather Through the hypocrisy of liars, having their conscience seared with a hot iron.* For the preposition *εν* in often signifies as well by or through: as in St. Mark's Gospel, (IX. 29.) *This kind can come forth by nothing but* *εν προσευχη και νηστεια* *by prayer and fasting:* and again in the Acts of the Apostles, (XVII. 31.) *God hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness* *εν ανδρι* *by that man whom he hath ordained:* and again in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, (XII. 21.) *Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil* *εν αγαθω* *by or with good:* and again in St. Paul's Epistle to Titus, (I. 9.) *That he may be able* *εν διδασκαλια υγιαινουσα* *by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers:* and so likewise in the text,

ἐν ὑποκρίσει *by or through hypocrisy. Liers too or speaking lies* ψευδολογῶν cannot possibly be joined in construction with *τινες some* and *προσεχόντες giving heed*, because they are in the nominative case, and this is in the genitive. Neither can it well be joined in construction with *δαιμονίων demons or devils*; for how can *demons or devils* be said to *speak lies in hypocrisy*, and to *have their conscience seared with a hot iron*? Besides if *δαιμονίων demons* be taken for *devils*, and not in the sense that we have explained it, nor with the addition of Epiphanius, then it is not expressed at all, wherein the great apostasy of the latter times consists. The *forbidding to marry* and *commanding to abstain from meats* are circumstances only and appendages of the great apostasy, and not the great apostasy itself, which is always represented in scripture as *spiritual fornication* or *idolatry* of one kind or other, and it is not likely that the apostle should specify the circumstantial errors, and omit the main and capital crime. In this place it is not the great apostasy that he is describing, but the characters and qualities of the authors and promoters of it. Castalio therefore very properly (4) translates ἐν ὑποκρίσει ψευδολογῶν *through the dissimulation of men speaking lies*: I have added

men,

(4) *Per simulationem hominum falsiloquorum*] *Hominum* addidi, ne falsi-

men, says he, left *speaking lies* and what follows should be referred to *demons* or *devils*. It is plain then that the great apostasy of the latter times was to prevail *through the hypocrisy of liars having their conscience seared with a hot iron*: and hath not the great idolatry of Christians, and the worship of the dead particularly, been diffused and advanced in the world by such instruments and agents? It is impossible to relate or enumerate all the various falsehoods and lies, which have been invented and propagated for this purpose; the fabulous books forged under the names of apostles, saints, and martyrs; the fabulous legends of their lives, actions, sufferings, and deaths; the fabulous miracles ascribed to their sepulchres, bones, and other relics; the fabulous dreams and revelations, visions and apparitions of the dead to the living; and even the fabulous saints, who never existed but in the imagination of their worshippers: And all these stories the monks, the priests, the bishops of the church, have imposed and obtruded upon mankind, it is difficult to say, whether with greater artifice or cruelty, with greater confidence or hypocrisy and pretended sanctity, a more hardened face or a more hardened conscience. The history of the church, saith

Pascal,

falsiloquorum et sequentia referrentur ad demonia. Castal. in locum.

(5) T92

Pascal, *is the history of truth*; but as written by bigotted papists, it is rather *the history of lies*. So well doth this prophecy coincide and agree with the preceding one, that *the coming of the man of sin* should be *after the working of Satan with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness*.

VI. A farther character of these men is given in the following words, *Forbidding to marry*. The same hypocritical liars, who should promote the worship of demons, should also prohibit lawful marriage. Saturninus or Saturnilus, who flourished in the second century, was, as Theodoret (5) affirms, the first Christian, who declared matrimony to be the doctrine of the devil, and exhorted men to abstain from animal food. But according (6) to Irenæus and Eusebius, Tatian, who had been a disciple of Justin Martyr, was the first author of this heresy; at least he concurred in opinion with Saturninus and

(5) τον δε γαμον ετος πρωτος τῷ δ' αβολου διδασκαλιαν ωνομασε. νομοθετει δε και εμψυχων απειχισθαι. Nuptias hic primus omnium diaboli doctrinam appellavit. Jubet autem et ab animatis abstinere. Theod. Hæret. Fab. Lib. 1. Cap. 3. p. 194. Tom. 4. Edit. Paris. 1642.

(6) Iren. apud Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 4. Cap. 29.

(7) Nubere et generare a Satana dicunt esse. Iren. Lib. 1. Cap. 22. p. 97. Edit. Grabe. Τοις δε ευφημως δι' ευκρατειας ασεβησιν, εις τε την κτισιν κ' τον δημιουργον, τον παντοκρατορα μοιον Θεον, και διδασκει μη δειν παραδεχισθαι γαμον και παιδοποιϊαν, μηδε αντεισαγειν τῷ κοσμῳ δυσυχισοντας ετερες, μηδε επιχορηγειν τῷ θανατῷ τροφη—Adversus autem

and Marcion; and their followers were called *the Continents* from their continence in regard to marriage and meats. The Gnostics likewise, as Irenæus and Clemens Alexandrinus (7) inform us, asserted that to marry and beget children proceeded from the devil; and under pretence of continence were impious both against the creature and the creator, teaching that men ought not to bring into the world other unhappy persons, nor supply food for death. Other heretics in the third century advanced the same doctrines, but they were generally reputed heretics, and their doctrines were condemned by the church. The council of Eliberis in Spain, which was held in the year of Christ 305, was I think the first, that by public authority (8) forbade the clergy to marry, and commanded even those who were married to abstain altogether from their wives. The council of Neocæsarea, in the year 314, only (9) forbade unmarried

tem alterum genus hæreticorum, qui speciose per continentiam impie se gerunt, tum in creaturam, tum in sanctum opificem, qui est solus Deus omnipotens; et dicunt non esse admittendum matrimonium et liberorum procreationem, nec in mundum esse inducendos alios infelices futuros, nec suppeditandum morti nutrimentum—

Clem. Alex. Strom. Lib. 3. Cap. 6. p. 531. Edit. Potter.

(7) Conc. Elib. C. 33. S. Basnagii Annales Vol. 2. p. 522, & 600.

(9) Conc. Neoc. Can. 1. Presbyter si uxorem duxerit, ab ordine suo removeatur. S. Basnag. ibid. p. 522, & 657.

unmarried presbyters to marry on the penalty of degradation. At the first general council of Nice, in the year 325, a motion was (1) made to restrain the clergy from all conjugal society with their wives: but it was strongly opposed by Paphnutius, a famous Egyptian bishop, who yet himself was never married; and to him the whole council agreed, and left every man to his liberty as before. But the monks had not yet prevailed; the monks soon after overspread the eastern church, and the western too: and as the monks were the first, who brought single life into repute; so they were the first also, who revived and promoted the worship of demons. It is a thing universally known, that one of the primary and most essential laws and constitutions of all monks, whether solitary or associated, whether living in deserts or in convents, is the profession of single life, to abstain from marriage themselves, and to discourage it all they can in others. It is equally certain, that the monks had the principal share in promoting and propagating the worship of the dead; and either out of credulity, or for worse reasons, recommended it to the people with all the pomp and

(1) Socratis Hist. Eccles. Lib. 1. Cap. 11. Sozomen. Lib. 1. Cap. 23. S. Bafnag. ibid. p. 707. Bingham's Antiquities B. 4. Ch. 5. Sect. 7.

(2) The

and power of their eloquence in their homilies and orations. Read only some of the most celebrated fathers; read the (2) orations of Basil on the martyr Mamas, and on the forty martyrs; read the orations of Ephraim Syrus on the death of Basil, and on the forty martyrs, and on the praises of the holy martyrs; read the orations of Gregory Nazianzen on Athanasius, and on Basil, and on Cyprian; read the orations of Gregory Nyssen on Ephraim Syrus, and on the martyr Theodorus, and on Meletius bishop of Antioch; read the sixty sixth, and other homilies of Chrysostom; read his oration on the martyrs of Egypt, and other orations: and you will be greatly astonished to find, how full they are of this sort of superstition, what powers and miracles are ascribed to the saints, what prayers and praises are offered up to them. All these were monks, and most of them bishops too, in the fourth century: and the superstitious worship which these monks begun, the succeeding monks completed, till at length the very relics and images of the dead were worshipped as much as the dead themselves. The monks then were the principal promoters of the

(2) The reader may see some Isaac Newton's observations on extracts out of all these in Sir Daniel. Chap. 14.

the worship of the dead in former times : and who are the great patrons and advocates of the same worship now ? Are not, their legitimate successors and descendents, the monks and priests and bishops of the church of Rome ? and do not they also profess and recommend single life, as well as the worship of saints and angels ? As long ago as the year 386, pope (3) Siricius held a council of eighty bishops at Rome, and forbade the clergy to cohabit with their wives. This decree was confirmed by pope (4) Innocent at the beginning of the fifth century : and the celibacy of the clergy was fully decreed by (5) Gregory the seventh in the eleventh century ; and this hath been the universal law and practice of the church ever since. Thus hath the worship of demons and the prohibition of marriage constantly gone hand in hand together : and as they who maintain the one, maintain the other ; so it is no less remarkable, that they who disclaim the one, disclaim also

(3) Siric. Deccr. C. 7. S. Basnage ibid. p. 27.

(4) Innocent Deccr. C. 12. S. Basnage. ibid. et Vol. 3. p. 106.

(5) S. Basnage, Vol. 2. p. 523.

(6) Est hic *ελαψα* contrarium. Deest enim *κελευσταις*, quo addidit hunc locum cit. n. Epiphanius, aut *ποιοντων* quod addit

Syrus. Similis ferme *ελαψες* 1 Cor. XIV. 34. et hic supra. II. 12. Sic Phædrus, *Non veto dimitti, verum cruciari fame, supple jubeo*. Grot. in locum.

(7) *οι καθεμενοι εγκρατεις αγαμιαν εκηρυξαν αδιτηντες την αγκυαν πλασιν τε Θεω, κη ηρεμα κατηγορηντες τε αγγεν και δηλυ*

also the other, and assert the liberty which nature, or (to speak more properly) the author of nature hath indulged to all mankind.

VII. The last note and character of these men is *commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth*: where in the original the word *commanding* is not expressed but understood, with an ellipsis that commentators (6) have observed to be sometimes used by the best classic authors. The same lying hypocrites, who should promote the worship of demons, should not only prohibit lawful marriage, but likewise impose unnecessary abstinence from meats: and these two, as indeed it is fit they should, usually go together, as constituent parts of the same hypocrisy. As we learn from (7) Irenæus, the ancient heretics called Continents, who taught that matrimony was not to be contracted, reprobating the primitive work of God, and tacitly accusing him who

εις γενεσιν ανδρων πεποιηκotes
και των λεγουμενων παρ' αυταις εμ-
ψυχων αποχρησιςτησαντες, αχα-
ρις εντες το παντα πεποιηκoti Θεω.
Qui vocantur continentes, do-
cuerunt non contrahendum esse
matrimonium: reprobantes sci-
licet primitivum illud opificium
Dei, et tacite accusantes Deum

qui masculum et feminam con-
didit ad propogationem generis
humani. Induxerunt etiam ab-
stinentiam ab eis eorum quæ a-
nimata appellant, ingratos se
exhibentes erga eum qui uni-
versa creavit Deum. Iren. apud.
Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 4. Cap.
29.

who made man and woman for the procreation of human kind, introduced abstinence also from animal food, showing themselves ungrateful to God who created all things. It is as much the law and constitution of all monks to abstain from meats as from marriage. Some never eat any flesh, others only of certain kinds and on certain days. Frequent fasts are the rule, the boast of their order; and their carnal humility is their spiritual pride. So lived the monks of the ancient church; so live, with less strictness perhaps but with greater ostentation, the monks and friars of the church of Rome: and these have been the principal propagators and defenders of the worship of the dead, both in former and in later times. The worship of the dead is indeed so monstrously absurd as well as impious, that there was hardly any possibility of its ever succeeding and prevailing in the world, but by hypocrisy and lies: but that these particular sorts of hypocrisy, celibacy under pretence of chastity, and abstinence under pretence of devotion, should be employed for this purpose, the Spirit of God alone could foresee and foretell. There is no necessary connexion between the worship of the dead, and forbidding to marry and commanding to abstain from meats; and yet it is certain, that the great advocates of this

worship have, by their pretended purity and mortification, procured the greater reverence to their persons, and the readier reception to their doctrines. But this idle, popish, monkish abstinence is as unworthy of a Christian, as it is unnatural to a man. It is perverting the purpose of nature, and *commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving by the believers and them who know the truth.* The apostle therefore approves and sanctifies the religious custom of blessing God at our meals, as our Saviour, when he was to distribute the loaves and the fishes, (Mat. XIV. 19. XV. 36.) *looked up to heaven, and blessed, and brake:* And what then can be said of those, who have their tables spread with the most plentiful gifts of God, and yet constantly sit down and rise up again without suffering so much as one thought of the giver to intrude upon them? It is but a thought, it is but a glimpse of devotion; and can they, who refuse even that, be reputed either to *believe*, or to *know the truth*? Man is free to partake of all the good creatures of God, but thanksgiving is the necessary condition. For, as the apostle subjoins in the next verses, (ver. 4, and 5.) *every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving:*

ing: For it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer. The apostle proceeds to say, that it is the duty of the ministers of the gospel to press and inculcate these things: (ver. 6.) If thou put the brethren in remembrance of these things, thou shalt be a good minister of Jesus Christ, nourished up in the words of faith, and of good doctrine, whereunto thou hast attained. All that is preached up of such abstinence and mortification, as well as all the legends of the saints, are no better than profane and old wives fables: Godliness is the only thing, that will truly avail us here and hereafter. (ver. 7 and 8.) But refuse profane and old wives fables, and exercise thyself rather unto godliness: For bodily exercise profiteth little; but godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.

END of the SECOND VOLUME.

